Chronicon Preciosum:

OR, AN

ACCOUNT

OF

ENGLISH GOLD and SILVER MONEY;

The Price of CORN and other COMMODITIES;

AND OF

Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions, Day-labour, &c. in ENGLAND,

FOR

Six hundred Years last past:

SHEWING

From the *Decrease* of the Value of MONEY, and from the *Increase* of the Value of CORN and other COMMODITIES, *&c.*

THAT

A FELLOW, who has an Estate in Land of Inheritance, or a perpetual Pension of Five Pounds *per Annum*, may conscientiously keep his *Fellowship*, and ought not to be compelled to leave the same, tho' the Statutes of his College (founded between the Years 1440 and 1460) did then vacate his *Fellowship* on such Condition.

By BISHOP *FLEETWOOD.*

To which is added,

An HISTORICAL Account of COINS,

Illustrated with several Plates of Gold and Silver COINS.

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BL

Chronicon Precioſum:

OR, AN

ACCOUNT

OF

Engliſh *Money, Corn,* &c.

CHAP. I.

The CASE.

THE Statutes of a certain College (to the Obſervation of which, every one is ſworn, when admitted Fellow) vacating a Fellowſhip, if the Fellow has an Eſtate in *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Penſion*, of *Five Pounds per Annum*, I deſire you would be pleaſed, to give me your Anſwer to theſe following Queſtions; when I have firſt told you, that the College was founded between the Years 1440, and 1460.

I. Whether He, who is poſſeſſed of an Eſtate, of that, or greater Value, may make it over *in truſt* to his Friend, and then ſafely ſwear to the Obſervation of ſuch Statute, amongſt the reſt?

II. Whether He, who has not an Eſtate of that Value, when admitted Fellow, may keep his Fellowſhip; tho' he *afterwards* come to an Eſtate of that, or much greater Value?

III. Whether He, who is actually poſſeſſed of an Eſtate, of *Six Pounds per Annum*, as Money and Things go *now*, may ſafely take that Oath, upon Preſumption, that VI. *l.* now, is not worth what V *l.* was, when that Statute was made.

The Anſwer to your Firſt Queſtion may be eaſily had, by your aſking yourſelf another, *viz.* Whether that Eſtate, tho' made over to another, be not ſtill *your's*, as to the Profits of it, for the preſent, and as to the Diſpoſal of it, for the future? If it be, How can you ſafely ſwear it is not your's, when you have it to all Intents and Purpoſes? A Man may have a legal Title to an Eſtate, and yet not be Poſſeſſor of it, nor receive any Fruits of it; he may be outed by Violence; it may be entirely mortgaged; or ſequeſtred for Payment of Debts; and during ſuch Violence, Mortgage, or Sequeſtration, he may ſafely ſwear, he is worth but ſo much as he

he truly and indeed receives, and nothing more, let the Estate be never so great in itself. And such an Oath as your's has not Respect to the *Title* alone, but to the *Title* with the *Profits* of an Estate. And since the making over your Estate does not (nor do you intend it should) defeat you of either, How can you save your Oath, by making over the Title of it, and that, it may be, only for the present? No Man, but He who has a mind to it, can be deceived by such Collusion. If an *Act of Parliament* should discharge all Debtors, who would swear they were not worth five Pounds, would you believe your Debtor an honest Man, who should take such an Oath, when you knew he had an Estate sufficient to discharge his Obligations to you, but had made it over to another, only to defeat his Creditors? Assure yourself, such making over your Estate, would not preserve you from the Guilt of Perjury, neither before God, nor good Men, tho' you would swear true *according to the Letter*. We lately heard of a Man, who, to save himself from paying a certain Sum, assess'd by *Act of Parliament*, made over a great Treasure to his Neighbour (ignorant of the Matter) and locked him safely up in his Closet, till he came into the Court, and took his Oath he had not so much Money in the World; and then came back, set his Neighbour at Liberty, and took his Treasure again into his own Possession. All who heard it, said he was a *perjured Villain*, and tho' he had eluded the Law, yet he remain'd a Debtor to God's Justice, which would certainly

find him out. This was the extremeſt Impudence that could be practiſed; but aſſure your ſelf, all Colluſions of this kind are as great Prophanations of an Oath as his was. They who make over the Titles of an Eſtate, and yet reſerve the Profits, are, in the ſight of God (as well as their own) as much Maſters of thoſe Eſtates, as if they had the *Titles* of them alſo in their Cabinets.

Your *Second* Queſtion ſeems to require more Pains to anſwer it, than the Firſt. But it only *ſeems ſo*, for there is, in Truth, but little Difficulty in it, if you conſider never ſo little the plain and viſible Intention of your Founder; which was, No-body worth five Pounds *per Annum* ſhould be Fellow of his College: Why elſe ſhould he require you to declare, under an Oath, you would obey that Statute? It is manifeſt, that if you had an Eſtate above that determined Value, you could not take that Oath; and, if you could not take that Oath, you could not be admitted Fellow. The having that Eſtate therefore muſt of neceſſity hinder you, by the Founder's viſible Intention, from being *admitted* Fellow; will not the ſame Intention therefore hinder you from *continuing* Fellow? I do not, however, directly charge with Perjury, ſuch Continuation, unleſs you deny, or do induſtriouſly conceal, your having ſuch an Eſtate; becauſe I am not ſure you are obliged (by Virtue of your general Oath) to vacate, of your own Accord, your Fellowſhip, but to ſubmit to the Directions or Injunctions of your lawful Superiors, and

and the Judges appointed in such Cases. But yet I think it such a Violation of that Statute, as I would not counsel you to venture on. And, it may be, another Case, not so much removed from this, may better clear up this Question. Suppose it appeared to be the Purpose of your Founder, that no married Man should be Fellow of his College, and that before Admission, every one were required to swear he was not married; might one be married *after* such an Oath, and continue Fellow, honestly, and with a good Conscience? I believe you will not think he might; but will rather conclude, that the Force of that Oath was, by the Founder, intended to secure his main Purpose, of having none but single Men Fellows of that Society; and that That Circumstance which would have *prevented* his Admission, would also, at any time after, *exclude* him. Thus, I believe, you would determine in any other's Case, and without any Bias on your Mind; and yet such Oath does not, in Terms, directly take in future Time; but only says, *I am not married: I am not worth so much*, &c.

Your *Third* and last Question will cost me more Pains, and you more Patience, before we come to the Conclusion; if we can come to any satisfactory one at last. The Question would certainly need no Answer, if it were asked in gross, *Whether he who has VI Pounds* per An. *may safely swear he has not V?* When a Pound is in both Places (and has been so for more than 600 Years) XX *s.* But as you have qualified it,

by distinguishing the Times, it will require both a good Casuist, and a pretty good Historian, to answer it absolutely, and to your Purpose; which is (as I take it) to know, of what Value you may now hold an Estate, with Safety to your Conscience, which is charged with the Observation of that Statute, which vacates the Fellowship of One who has an Estate of Inheritance, or a perpetual Pension of C *s.* or V *l.* *per An.* A better Casuist, I own, you might easily have found. But, it may be, you could not so easily have found One, who hath in his Readings made more Observations on the Price of Corn, and other Commodities, at different Times, than I have done, as you will perceive by reading this long Letter. So that, for aught I know, my Diligence may make you Amends for what Want of Judgment may be found in me. And I do not say this in Vanity and Ostentation of my Labour, but because without a good Share of Knowledge in these Matters, the best Casuist in the World can never answer your Question satisfactorily. And indeed, as the World now goes, the greatest (tho' I will not think the best) Part of Readers will be rather apt to despise, than to commend the Pains that are taken in making Collections of so mean Things, as the Price of Wheat, and Oats, of Poultry, and such like Provisions: Tho' I hope, before I have done, to shew you, that the Observation of these little Things may be of good Use, in the Consideration of great Affairs. And when you shall find, that many a single Line

of

of this Letter has cost me the looking over a great Book, you will rather think fit to commend my Industry, than to disparage so many good Authors, out of whom I have gathered these Materials: At least, you will think I wanted no Good-will to do you Service, who have taken such Pains to satisfy your Question, that if any ancient *Greek* or *Latin* Writer had taken the like, and left us such a Collection, you would have had the *Salmasius's*, the *Grævius's*, and the *Gronovii* almost out of their Wits for very Joy. But I am now come to your Question, and must premise, before I speak to it, that whereas you say your Statutes were made betwixt the Years 1440, and 1460, I must, to save Labour, call this Space *the Reign of* H. VI. tho' his Reign began 18 Years sooner.

I do affirm then, with the best Judgment I have, that I am seriously persuaded, that, altho' you are actually possessed of an Estate of VI Pounds *per An.* as Money and Things go *now*, you may safely take that Oath, upon Presumption that VI *l. now*, is not worth what V *l.* was *then*, when that Statute was first made. Because whoever swears, swears to *Things* that are signified by Words, and not to *mere Words*. When a Word signifies the same Thing *now* in Effect, which it signified 260 Years ago, then he who swears to *Words*, swears to the Things they signify; but when different Things are signified by the same Word, then he who knows *that* Difference of Things, cannot help giving such Word its proper and intended Signification. A

Pound (for Instance) will buy either more, or less Corn (take it which way you will) *now*, than it would in *H.* VI. Time. A *Pound* is therefore of more or less Value *now*, than it was *then*; and the *Value* of a *Pound* is truly a *Pound*, and not its mere *Name*. It is not therefore the same Thing *now*, that it was in *H.* VI. Time.

I wish, I confess, with all my Heart, that all Oaths were so contrived and so worded, that they might be taken with the utmost Plainness and Simplicity; and that no Room or Occasion could be left for any mental Reservation, or Exception in the Mind: But I think it can never be; almost all Words are Equivocal: And it is impossible to fix a determined Sense on the Denominations of Coin, when all Things purchaseable with Money are so changeable and uncertain. I do not mean, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, might not be always fix'd, so as to signify XX *s.* XIII *s.* IV *d.* and XII *d.* but that it never can be so ordered, in this World, that a Man should always, 200 Years ago, and now, and 200 Years hence, purchase the same Quantity of Corn, the same Number of Chickens, and as many Yards of Cloth, at one Time as another, with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, or a *Shilling*. And if this cannot be, then I maintain, that a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, is not *now* the same Thing with a *Pound*, a *Mark*, and a *Shilling*, 200 Years ago. And therefore I may safely take my Oath, that, altho' I am worth VI *l.* as Money and Things go now, yet I am not worth V *l.* as Money and Things went 260 Years

Years ago, in the Days of *H.* VI. And if it be ſaid, that I muſt needs take the Words of my Oath in their *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical Senſe*; I anſwer, That ſo I muſt, wherever I can; but in this Caſe, the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical* Senſe of *Five Pounds*, is not the ſame, with what it was 260 Years ago. What ſhall I do then? Shall I prefer the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical* Senſe of Words at this preſent, before the *Plain*, *Literal*, and *Grammatical* Senſe of the ſame Words as it ſtood 260 Years ago; which, I am ſure, was the Senſe of the Founder? I grant, that if it were *a Caſe in Law*, I ſhould be determined by the Senſe which the Words do bear at preſent; but as it is *a Caſe of Conſcience*, I do roundly affirm, that V Pound is not the ſame Thing at preſent, that V *l.* was in the Reign of *H.* VI.

And that I may very honeſtly have Regard to the Value of V *l.* 260 Years ago, will, I believe, appear evident from what I am going to ſay; That the Founder intended the ſame Eaſe and Favour to Thoſe who ſhould live in his College 260 Years after his Deceaſe, as to Thoſe who lived in his own Time. Now, they who lived in his Time, might, with V Pounds, purchaſe ſo much Bread, ſo much Drink, Meat, Cloth, Firing, Books, and other Neceſſaries, or Conveniencies: I know not exactly how much, nor is it Material: I only ſay, the Founder intended I might keep ſuch an Eſtate, as would ſuffice to procure the ſame Bread, Drink, Meat, Cloth, Books, *&c.* as the other might have procured

cured for V Pounds, 260 Years ago. But this I cannot possibly do with VI Pounds, as Things go *now*, nor it may be, with four times as much. I may therefore have Regard (tho' in an Oath) to the Value of *Pounds* at that Time; and, unless I have, I shall be in a much harder Condition, than he, who lived so long ago; which is what the Founder neither did, nor could intend. This Argument in general seems, to me, unanswerable; and if you apply it to Particulars, you will see its Force more clearly. Use it, for Example, in the Business of *taking Degrees* in the *University*, to which you know you are obliged, and without which a Fellowship must needs be vacated. A *Degree* might be taken 260 Years ago, at five times less Charge, than it can be at this Day; and if a Fellow must lose his Fellowship for Want of a Degree, may it not very easily come to pass, that he shall not be able to pay for that *Degree*, if he may not be worth more than V Pounds *per An.* as Money goes *now?* Some *Founders* have, in Cases of extream Poverty, made Allowances for indigent and virtuous Scholars, towards the taking their Degrees: But if you look into those Statutes, you will find that those Allowances are (as Money and Degrees go now) so very inconsiderable, that they signify little or nothing towards it, which yet in those early Days would (with a little Help of Friends) have been sufficient to the intended Purpose. This is a clear Proof, that Regard both may and must be had, to the different Value of Money, at different Times; and that the Founder's visible

visible Intention is better answered by such Regard, than it would be by a strict and obstinate Adherence to the bare Letter of the Statute.

This Inconvenience (you may possibly object) will follow, from departing from the present Value of a *Pound*, and having Regard to what it was formerly; namely, That hereby too great a Liberty will be taken in Oaths of this Nature: Some will be apt to run the Matter too high, and (by reason of the Uncertainty we are in, what Proportion a *Pound* at present bears to a *Pound* in *H.* VI. Time) may pretend to keep their Fellowship, with an Estate of great Value. And to this I answer, That, for aught I know, it will now and then happen, as you surmise; nor is there any one Rule that is not subject to Abuse. And therefore I do not presume to set out, with any Exactness, or Certainty, and much less to determine Positively, how great an Estate is, at present, equivalent to an Estate, of the same Denomination 260 Years ago. I leave that to Others, to gather from the particular Accounts of Things that I shall give them, from our Historians. And they who are concern'd, ought seriously to consider, that altho' a *Pound* in *H.* VI. Time, might be worth 4 or 5, or more, in our own Times, yet it was not worth 20 or 30. And therefore the Uncertainty of its Value cannot encourage any reasonable Man, to advance it to an extravagant height. They who are the Guardians of your College-Statutes cannot (I believe) tell you exactly, how much

Land

Land of Inheritance, or how great a yearly *perpetual Penſion*, will now-a-days anſwer to V *Pounds* in *H.* VI. Reign: but yet they can tell you that 60 or 70 *l. per An.* will be too much to keep together with a Fellowſhip, if it be *Land of Inheritance*, or a *perpetual Penſion*. And furthermore (which is an Anſwer to all Objections of this Kind, and a ſufficient Reſtraint to all Exorbitance) theſe Guardians of your Statutes have it in their Power (if it be fit to have it in their Will) to judge according to the *Letter*, and to determine that V Pounds, as Pounds do *now* go, ſhall be the limited Sum, which ſhall not be exceeded. For the *Letter* is the Judge's Rule; and the Senſe he pleaſes to put on that *Letter*, is that by which you are to be determined, without Appeal or Remedy, unleſs he ſay that V *l.* is any thing leſs than an C *s.* And tho' I believe they never *will* determine, in any ſuch Caſe, without regard to Equity, and Reaſon, and comparing of Times, yet if they *ſhould*, you would be obliged to abide by their Judgment. And therefore all I have ſaid, or can ſay on this Head, is only to ſhew you, what I think may be ſafely done with reſpect to Equity, and a good Conſcience: Not to exempt you from the Juriſdiction of your lawful Superiours, but to ſhew you what you may do as an honeſt Man, tho' what you do, does not agree exactly with the *Letter* of the Statutes, to which you are obliged; nay (if you will) to ſhew you, what you may innocently do, even when you may be puniſhed for ſo doing.

But

But since I have said, that great Regard is to be had to the *Founder*'s *Intention*, where, and as far as it appears; you may perhaps desire to know, from whence it comes to pass, that a Fellow is, without Dispute, allowed to enjoy the *Interest* of Money, or the Profits of a *Lease* to a much greater Value, than that of V Pounds *per An.* when the Intention of the Founder seems to be plainly defeated by so doing? I answer you, That the *Intention of the Founder* does not seem plainly to be defeated, by holding a *Lease*, or by receiving the *Interest* of Money; because of the *Uncertainty* of this Provision: Your Money may be lost by many Accidents; and if it should, then you are quite destitute, and undone: And a *Lease* is generally for a Term of Years, which you may chance to outlive, and then you may be in as ill a Condition: But *Land of Inheritance*, and a *perpetual Pension*, are as certain a Provision for Futurity, as the State of human Affairs will allow of. This, you see, makes a great Difference. But moreover, I do not say, that you are to seek for the *Founder*'s *Intention* any farther than it plainly appears in his Statutes; nor that you are obliged, in many Cases, to argue from a *Parity of Reason.* Money was put out to *Interest*, and *Leases* were made, in the Time of *H.* VI. and your Founder, who lived in his Reign, knew this very well, and therefore had it in his Power to have mentioned, and excepted *Interest* and *Leases*, in his Statutes, had he so pleased; and not having made any such Exceptions,

Exceptions, you have no Reaſon to preſume, that his Intention was to except them, but to enjoy the Liberty he leaves you at. Where Law-givers are at Liberty to oblige and bind their Subjects, and may uſe what Terms and Words they pleaſe, to ſignify ſuch Obligation, their Words are preſumed to include no more than they expreſs: Their Silence neither profits nor hurts any one, 'tis their expreſs Words that do both.

Suppoſing, therefore, that you are convinced, that you may innocently ſwear to the Obſervation of the Statutes, and yet intend to keep your Fellowſhip, altho' you have an Eſtate of VI Pounds *per An.* upon Preſumption that VI. Pounds now-a-days, are not equal to V Pounds 260 Years ago.

Suppoſing, I ſay, this; I am now at Liberty to proceed to an Hiſtorical Account of Money, and of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities; that by Underſtanding both, and Comparing one with the other, you may be the better able to determine what Proportion a *Pound*, a *Mark*, a *Shilling*, or a *Penny*, now, bears to the ſame Denominations many Years ago. For this Account of Money, you will be obliged to *Fabian*, and to *Stow*'s Chronicle, to Sir *H. Spelman*, and others, but eſpecially to Mr. *Lowndes*'s *Eſſay*; I have only taken Leave and Pains to put Things into a Method which I thought better for my Purpoſe, and more for the Reader's Satisfaction, than any of theirs would be. And

firſt,

firſt, of the ſeveral Names that you will often find in reading over our Hiſtories, both *Latin* and *Engliſh*. The *Gold* I have put *Alphabetically*, that Recourſe may be had more eaſily to them; the *Silver*, as better known, I ſpeak of gradually, beginning at the higheſt, which is a *Pound*, and coming to a *Farthing*, which is the loweſt Engliſh Coin we have; and of which we have had none made of Silver (that I can find) ſince the 36 *H.* VIII. *i. e.* ſince 1542; and thoſe were certainly very bad, ſince out of 6 Ounces of fine Silver, (together with 6 Ounces of Allay) there were made 2304 Farthings, the Pound (as then moſt abuſively called) going at 48 *s.* All the Denominations of Gold were actually coined, at the Times I have ſet down (and not ſooner, that we can find.) But for the Silver, moſt of them were mere Names, and were never coin'd; which they were, I obſerve as I go along.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the Gold Coins.

ANGELS were doubtleſs ſo called at firſt, from an *Angel* impreſſed on one Side of the Piece. And their Value was, at different Times:

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Angels.	1 *H.* 6.	00	VI	VIII
	1 *H.* 8.	00	VII	VI
	34 *H.* 8.	00	VIII	00
	6 *E.* 6.	00	X	00
Half-Angels.	5 *E.* 4.	00	III	IV
	1 *H.* 8.	00	III	IX
	34 *H.* 8.	00	IV	00
	6 *E.* 6.	00	V	00

The Reader may perceive by this, that when he meets, in Hiſtory, with the Word *Angels*, *Half-Angels*, *Farthing-Angels*, or with any other Coin, he muſt obſerve what King's Reign he is in, to underſtand exactly what the Sum amounts to: for otherwiſe he will miſtake. This I obſerve to him, once for all, and go on.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Angelets.	1 *H.* 6.	00	III	IV
	34 *H.* 8.	00	IV	00
	6 *E.* 6.	00	V	00

From

From hence it appears that *Angelets* were the same with *Half-Angels*.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Crowns of the Double Rose.	1 *H.* 8.	00	V	00
Britain Crowns.	1 *Jac.* I.	00	V	00
	9 *Jac.* I.	00	V	VI
Double Crowns.	1 *Jac.* I.	00	X	00
	9 *Jac.* I.	00	XI	00
Thistle Crowns.	1 *Jac.* I.	00	IV	00
	9 *Jac.* I.	00	IV	IV *ob. q.*
Florens.	18 *E.* 3.	00	VI	00

They were so called, because first made by *Florentines*, as Mr. *Camden* says. *Fabian* says, that these were not of so fine Gold as his *Nobles*, and *Half-Nobles* were. But that which is more observable is, that he calls the *Floren*, a *Penny*, value VI *s.* VIII *d.* The *Half-Floren* he calls a *Half-Penny*, value III *s.* IV *d.* The *Quarter-Floren* he calls a *Farthing*, val. I *s.* VIII *d.* And these Words you will often meet with, in old Histories and Accompts, applied to several Coins, as *Rials*, *Angels*: Where you are to understand, by *Denarius*, the whole; by *Obolus*, the half; and by *Quadrans*, the fourth Part, or Farthing.

Thus, 1344, about this time, the *Noble*, *Obolus*, and *Farthing* of Gold, began to go about, saith *H. Knyton*.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Forty-Pence Pieces.	1 *H.* 8.	00	III	IV
Guineas.	22 *C.* 2.	01	00	00 *tho' they now pass for* 1 *l.* 1 *s.*

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Moton, 1358, a *French* Piece of Gold, at		00	0v	00

Noble. So call'd, becauſe made of the nobleſt and pureſt Gold.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Noble.	18 *E.* 3.	00	VI	VIII
	5 *E.* 4.	00	X	00
	26 *Eliz.*	00	XV	00
George Nobles.	1 *H.* 8.	00	VI	00
Double Nobles.	26 *Eliz.*	01	X	00

Rials, or **Royals.**	1 *H.* 6.	00	X	00
	1 *H.* 8.	00	XI	III
	2 *Eliz.*	00	XV	00
Roſe Rials.	3 *Jac.* 1.	01	X	00
Spur Rials.		00	XV	00

There is, in Dr. *Kennet*'s *Parochial Antiquities*, mention made of *Spurarium Aureum*, in *An.* 1292, or *Spur Royal*; but whether it were an *Engliſh* Coin or not, does not appear.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Scute, a *French* Coin of Gold	1427.	00	III	IV	
Souvereigns.	1 *H.* 8.	01	II	VI	
	34 *H.* 8.	01	00	00	
	4 *E.* 6.	01	IV	00	
	6 *E.* 6.	01	X	00	*Old Stand.*
	———	01	00	00	22 *Car.* [*fine.* 2 *Car. Allay.*
	2 *Eliz.*	*the ſame in both Caſes.*			
Unites.	1 *Jac.* 1.	01	00	00	
	10 *Jac.* 1.	01	II	00	

Note,

Note, In 9 *Jac.* 1. by a Proclamation, Gold was raised 2 *s. per* Pound. *Ch.* the First brought it again to the Standard of 1 *Jac.* 1.

The following Table is collected out of Mr. *Lowndes*'s Accounts, which, though they differ in some Points from Mr. *Stow*'s, who also cites *Records* for some of them, I cannot chuse but prefer, because of his Abilities and Opportunities of giving them most perfect. Premising first, that a Pound of Gold, *Troy Weight*, was divided into 24 *Carats*; and each *Carat* into 4 *Grains:* And that the Old Standard of *England* was, 23 *Car.* 1. 3 *Grains* and a half of fine Gold, and half a *Grain* of Allay, which might be Silver or Copper.

Years.	*Fineness.* car.	gr.	*Allay.* ca.	gr.	*Make in Silver.* l.	s.	d.	
18 *E.* 3.	23	3½		½	15	00	00	} *The same Year.*
	23	3½		½	13	03	04	}
20 *E.* 3.	23	3½		½	14	00	00	
27, 30, 37, 46 *E.* 3. 18 *R.* 2. 3 *H.* 4.	23	3½		½	15	00	00	
9 *H.* 5.	23	3½		½	16	13	04	
1 *H.* 6.	23	3½		½	22	10	00	
4 *H.* 6.	23	3½		½	16	13	04	
49 * *H.* 6.	23	3½		½	22	10	00	
5 *E.* 4.	23	3½		½	22	10	00	

* It should be 39 *H.* 6.

Years.	Fineness.		Allay. ca. gr.		Make in Silver. l.	s.	d.	
8, 11, 16, 22 of E. 4. 1 R. 3. 9 H. 7.	23	3½		½	22	10	00	
1 H. 8.	23	3½		½	27	00	00	The same Year.
	22	00	2	0	25	02	06	
34 H. 8.	23	00	1	0	28	16	00	
36 H. 8.	22	00	2	0	30	00	00	
37 H. 8.	20	00	4	0	30	00	00	
1 E. 6.	20	00	4	0	30	00	00	
3 E. 6.	22	00	2	0	34	00	00	
4 E. 6.	23	3½	0	½	28	16	00	
6 E. 6.	23	3½	0	½	36	00	00	
6 E. 6.	22	00	2	0	33	00	00	
1 Mary	23	3½½	0	½	36	00	00	
2 Eliz.	23	3	0	½	36	00	00	
2 Eliz.	22	00	2	0	33	00	00	
19 Eliz.	23	3½	0	½	36	00	00	
43 Eliz.	23	3½	0	½	36	10	00	
43 Eliz.	22	00	2	0	33	10	00	
1 Jac. 1.	22	00	2	0	37	10	00	
3 Jac. 1.	23	3½	0	½	40	10	00	
10 Jac. 1.	23	3½	0	½	44	00	00	
10 Jac. 1.	22	00	2	0	40	18	04	
2 Car. 1.	23	3½	0	½	44	10	00	
2 Car. 1.	22	00	2	0	41	00	00	
12 Car. 2.	22	00	2	0	44	10	00	
1 Jac. 2 W. & Mar. Q. Anne.	22	00	2	0	44	10	00	

So

So that the same Pound of Gold which in 18 *E.* 3. 1344, was worth 13, or 14, or 15 Pound in Silver, is risen, by degrees, to go for 44 *l.* 10 *s.* and the Gold not quite so fine neither. But if a Penny *then*, was worth our 3 Pence, and XX *s.* worth our LX *s.* then Gold and Silver have kept, pretty near, the same Proportion to each other; for three times 15 *l.* make 45 *l.* which is but X *s.* more than a Pound of Gold now goes at.

CHAP. III.

An Account of Silver Money.

A Pound, *Libra*, contains 12 Ounces; and tho' *now* it signifies XX *s.* (when applied to *Money*) which is but the 3d. Part of a Pound in *Weight*, yet it is because XX *s.* did heretofore weigh a full Pound, or 12 Ounces. Each of these Ounces contained so many *Solidi* or Shillings, and so many *Denarii* or Pence, as they who governed the Money-Matters thought fit; sometimes more, and sometimes fewer. Dr. *Hicks*, in his most learned, useful, and laborious Work (much to his own, and to the Nation's Honour) tells us, *pag.* 111. *Dissert. Epistol.* that *the Saxon Pound contain'd LX Shillings*. For this, he cites a Passage out of

the *Textus Roffensis*; *Ceorles Wergyld is Myrcnalage CC Scill. Thegenes Wergyld is six swa micel*; *that byth XII hundred Scill. Thonne bith Cyninges anfeald Wergyld, six Thegena Wergyld, be Myrcanalage*; *that is XXX thusend Sceata*; *that bith ealles CXX Punda.* The English of which is, A Churle's Weregyld is, by Mercian-Law, 200 Shillings. A Thaine's Weregyld is six times as much, *i. e.* 1200 *s.* And the King's single Weregyld is as much as the Weregyld of six Thains; that is 30000 Sceata; which is in all 120 Pound.

The very same Words we find at the End of King *Æthelstane*'s Laws, put out by Mr. *Lambard*; and afterwards by Mr. *Whelock* at *Cambridge*, 1644. *pag.* 56. excepting that it is said here, that *a Ceorles Weregyld is* 266 *Thrimsæ, which make* 200 *Shillings*, and then goes on, as above; now if a Churle's Weregyld be 200 *s.* and a Thain's 1200 *s.* and a King's six times as much, *i. e.* 7200 *s.* and this last Sum make but CXX Pound, it will follow, that there must go LX *s.* to the Pound, because 120 multiplied by 60, produces 7200 *s.* But if, as it is here said, 266 *Thrimsæ* make 200 Shillings, and (as is said in the same place, *pag.* 55.) that a King's Weregyld is among the English 30 Thousand *Thrimsæ*: then there will be found in 30000 *Thrimsæ*, just 22400 *s.* and 208 *Thrimsæ* remaining, which will make above 373 *l.* tho' you should allow 60 *s.* to the Pound; which is near to 3 times the Sum it ought to be. And if *Thrimsa* be (as that learned Person concludes) 4 *d.* of Saxon Money, then thirty thousand

Thrimsæ

Thrimsæ will make 400 *l.* allowing 60 *s.* to each Pound, which is more than 3 times 120 *l.* so that nothing can be done with *Thrimsæ*, if 266 of them make 200 *s.* Now if we will allow but of a Mistake (not great in itself) of CXX for CL, all things will go well, and the Saxon Pound will continue, as it has all along been counted, to be made up of 48 Shillings: for 150 multiplied by 48, makes just 7200 *s.* which is the King's *Weregyld.* There is also Reason to believe, that in King *Cnute*'s Time (who reign'd from 1017, to 1035,) the Saxon Pound continued at 48 *s.* because in his 3 *d.* Law, it is said, that he who breaks the King's Peace in a *Head Church*, is to forfeit V *l.* If in a *Second Rate Church*, 120 *s.* If in a *less Church*, (but where there is a Church-Yard or Burying-Place) 60 *s.* If in a *Country Church (Feld Cyric)* where there is no Church-Yard, 30 *s.* Here you see there is a gradual Diminution of the Mulct, V *l.* 120, 60, 30 *s.* from whence I conclude that V *l.* was just double to 120 *s.* that is, it was 240 *s.* which will make V *l.* at 48 *s.* the Pound; and it will not be double to 120 *s.* by any other Reckoning. To this, let me add, that Mr. *Camden*, Sir *H. Spelman.* in his *Glossary*, and Mr. *Lambard* in his, do all of them agree, that the Saxon Pound was made up of 48 *s.* and give no Intimation that it was ever otherwise, either more or less. I do not pretend, however, that Dr. *Hicks* has not other Authorities, besides what is above-cited, for what he affirms; for he is so well

ſkilled in theſe Matters, and has taken ſo much Pains in them, that he is not likely to ſay a Thing that ſeems ſo new, without good Reaſon. Let it then be ſaid, that a Saxon Pound did *ſometimes* contain LX *s.* but generally 48 *s.* and each Shilling contained 5 *d.* ſo that a Pound, or *Libra Anglo-Saxonica*, contained 240 *d.* How long it continued thus, I cannot tell exactly, but in the Laws, which are called King *Edward*'s, 31. it is ſaid, *In Denelega:* the Forfeiture for Breach of Peace, was VIII *l.* which was raiſed by the *Hundred.* Of this VIII *l.* the King received 100 *s.* the Sheriff 50 *s.* and the Biſhop's *Decanus* (in whoſe Deanry the Peace was broken) the other 10 *s.* From whence it is clear, that VIII *l.* contained 160 *s.* which is 20 *s. per* Pound. But becauſe 'tis manifeſt, from the 3d Law, that this Collection of *Edward*'s Laws was made after *W. Rufus*'s Time (ſince there is mention made of him, by Name, in it) it will be better to ſay, that the Pound contain'd XX *s.* in *William the Conqueror*'s Time; becauſe in the IVth of his Laws, *In Lege Danorum, foris factura eſt VIII lib. XX Solidi pro Capite, & VII libræ Regi.* In Danelagh, the Forfeiture is 8 *l.* 20 *s.* for the Head, and 7 *l.* for the King. And in 79 of *H.* 1. *Infractio Pacis Regis V lib. in Anglorum Lege. Media L* s. *& adhuc minoris, ubi parva Parochia eſt, & Atrium cum ſit XXV* s. *& Campeſtris Capellæ, ubi non ſit Atrium, XII* s. *VI* d. which is King *Cnute*'s Law (above-recited) turn'd into *Latin*, and the Rates reduced to the

the Money then current: which confirms my Conjecture, that V*l.* was, *there*, double to 120 *s.* becauſe it is *here* double to 50 *s.* And whoever looks into the Laws of King *Ina*, *Alfred*, and others, and finds the ſame Proportions of 120, 60, and 30 *s.* ſo oft obſerved in the Fines or Forfeitures of Offenders, will be apt to conclude that the Pound was then 48 *s.*

There is alſo ſome Diſpute, whether the Pound was made up of 12, or of 15 Ounces. In the 30th of King *Ethelred*'s Laws (as they are in *J. Brompton)* you will find theſe Words; *Let thoſe who overlook the Ports, ſee, that every Weight at the Market, be the Weight by which my Money is received, and let each of them be marked, ſo that* 15 *Oræ make a Pound.* And in Sir *H. Spelman*'s *Gloſſary*, you will find that *Ora* ſignifies *Uncia*, and ſo in other learned Authors. But the ſame moſt learned Knight tells us, that *Ora* was alſo a Piece of Money, valued at 16 *d.* for which he cites this Paſſage. *Plac. coram Rege T. Mich.* 37 *H.* 3. *Rot.* 4. *The Men of* Berkeholt, Com. Suffolc. *ſay, that in the time of King* Henry, *the Grand Father of our preſent Lord the King, they had a Cuſtom that when they would marry out their Daughters, they were wont to pay, for Leave ſo to do,* 2 Oræ, *which are valued at* 32 d. Now 15 *Oræ* make juſt a Saxon Pound, 48 *s.* or 15 times 16 *Oræ* make 240 *d.* There is therefore no need of ſaying that *Ora* ſignifies an *Ounce* in King *Ethelred*'s Law, nor in the ſame Law renewed by King *Cnute*, (but which ought to be

be corrected by the Law of *Ethelred*, for inſtead of *ad Mercatum*, it is corruptly written *admetatum)* Mr. *Somner* indeed [to whoſe Judgment great regard is to be had in all theſe Matters] is of the Opinion, that there was never any ſuch Piece of Money as an *Ora*, but that it always ſignifies an *Ounce*, of which he ſays there were two ſorts, the one containing 16 *Den.* the other 20, [of which there is ſo frequent mention made in the *Dooms-day Book*] which was called *the greater Ounce*. But then he agrees that there were but 12 Ounces in the Pound, which can hardly be reconciled to *Ethelred*'s Law. For if 15 *Oræ* are to make a Pound, and *Ora* be an Ounce, there will unavoidably be 15 Ounces in the Pound. And beſides, he afterwards obſerves [from Mr. *Camden*, out of *Regiſtr. Burton*] that 20 *Oræ* are ſaid to be of equal Value with 2 *Marks* of Silver. Now a *Mark* is 8 Ounces, [when XX s. make a Pound in weight] and 2 *Marks* are 16 Ounces [which he values at XXVI *s.* VIII *d.*] and if 20 *Oræ* be 20 Ounces [as they muſt, if *Ora* be neceſſarily an Ounce] then 20 Ounces are of equal Value with 16 Ounces; which may be true of the *Pence* that are made of an Ounce, but can hardly be true of the Name or Denomination of an Ounce. 12 Ounces, indeed, of 20 *d.* are equal to 15 Ounces of 16 *d.* But he who ſays that 12 Ounces are equal to 15 Ounces, muſt underſtand ſomething which his Words do neither expreſs nor imply. It will never therefore be true, that *Ora* ſhould always

ſignify

ſignify an Ounce; that there ſhould be 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, and yet that there ſhould be but 12 Ounces in the Pound. Whenever therefore it is ſaid, that there are 12 *Oræ* in a Pound, *there Ora* is 20 *d.* Whenever there are 15 *Oræ* in a Pound, then *Ora* is 16 *d.* *Verelius*, in his *Lexicon Scandicum*, ſays, *Ore, Solidus, & tertia pars Solidi.* And *Dolmerus* (as he is cited by *Du Freſne*) ſays, *Ora, vernacula Aura, Danis Ore, fuit olim genus monetæ, valens* 15 *Minuta.* Which would make one think it a Denomination of *Money*, rather than of *Weight.*

It was a good Law of King *Edgar*, that there ſhould be the ſame *Money*, the ſame *Weight*, and the ſame *Meaſures*, throughout the Kingdom: but it was never well obſerved. What can be more vexatious and unprofitable, both to Men of Reading and Practice, than to find, that when they go out of one Country into another, they muſt learn a new Language, or cannot buy or ſell any Thing? An *Acre* is not an *Acre*; nor a *Buſhel* a *Buſhel*, if you travel but ten Miles. A *Pound* is not a *Pound*, if you go from a *Goldſmith* to a *Grocer*; nor a *Gallon* a *Gallon*, if you go from the *Alehouſe* to the *Tavern.* What Purpoſe does this Variety ſerve, or what Neceſſity is there, which the Difference of *Price* would not better anſwer and ſupply? 'Tis impoſſible to fix the Price of an *Acre* of Land, or of a *Quarter* of Wheat, becauſe Land is much better in one Country than another, and becauſe the Price of Corn will depend upon the Plenty or the Scarcity of it,

it, and that upon the Goodneſs or the Badneſs of the Soil and Seaſons. But it is poſſible to determine how many *Feet*, or *Yards*, Length and Breadth, an *Acre* ſhall contain, in all Places alike; and poſſible to determine how many *Quarts* a *Buſhel*, and how many *Buſhels* a *Quarter* ſhall contain, ſo that every Body ſhall know theſe Things alike, and neither be miſtaken nor impoſed upon. Theſe things, I know, have (ſome of them) been determin'd by Laws; but Cuſtom and Folly have made thoſe Laws uſeleſs. And the Trouble that ſuch Variety hath often given to me, as well as others, will juſtify this Digreſſion. From which I now return to ſpeak of *Libra Anglo-Normanica*; which contained XX *s.* and each Shilling contain'd, ſometimes 16 *d.* but generally 20 *d.* made out of an Ounce. The *Libra Denariorum*, and the *Libra Sterlingorum* are the ſame; their Ounce containing 20 *d.* and in that they agree with the *Saxon* Pound, tho' they differ in the Number of Shillings. *M. Du Freſne* (not to be named without Honour) in *Libra Gallica*, ſays, a Penny is the 20th Part of an Ounce; and that 12 *d* make a Shilling, and 3 Ounces make 5 *s.* 'tis therefore the ſame with *Libra Anglo-Normanica*. You will ſee hereafter in the *Table*, how the Pound differed, by being divided into more or fewer Shillings. I need not obſerve to you, I think, that there was never any coined Piece of Silver, that either weighed, or was called a *Pound*.

The

The next Denomination of Money, you will often meet with, is a **Mark**, which the *Saxons* call *Mancus*, *Mancusa*, *Mearc*, &c. and amongst them it came to XXX *d.* which was, of their Money, VI *s.* Thus in the Laws of *H.* 1. *c.* 35. it is said, *XX Mancæ quæ faciunt Solidos L.* Now you will wonder that 20 times 6 *s* (*i. e.* 120 *s.*) should make but 50 *s.* unless you remember that the 120 are *Anglo-Saxonic* Shillings, and the 50 are *Anglo-Normanic* ones, and that each of them contain alike 600 Pence. Thus *c.* 69. *Debent reddi, secundum Legem, XXX* s. *ad manbotam*; *idem hodie quinque Marcæ.* Here both the XXX *s.* and the *quinque Marcæ* are *Saxonic*; for there are 5 times 6 in 30. And so again, *De Twelfhindo*, i. e. *Thaino*, 120 s. *qui faciunt* 20 *Marcas.* In *c.* 34. *Erga Hundredum XXX* s. *& V Denar. qui faciunt V Mancas, ut Solidus den. XII. computetur.* Which brings the Mark to VI *s.* 1 *d.* In *c.* 76. a *Mark* is but 4 *s.* 6 *d.* but I doubt not but it is a Mistake; and, indeed, those Laws, as we have them now, are full of Mistakes: It is great pity Mr. *Somner*'s Corrections, Annotations, and Glossary upon them, are not published, but lie obscurely in a private Library: the Labours of so faithful and judicious an Antiquary are well worth the Cost that any noble Lover of this sort of Learning would be at in making them publick, and would pay him with ample Praise and Honour. When a *Mark* came to be valued at XIII *s.* IV *d.* I cannot

not tell with any Exactneſs, but *M. Paris* in the Life of *Guarinus Abb.* of St. *Albans*, in *An.* 1194, and in 1235, tells us that a *Mark* was then (1194) 13 *s.* 4 *d.* and ſo it has continued to this Day, without any Variation: how long before that, appears not. I muſt alſo obſerve here, that there never was any ſuch Piece of *Silver* as a *Mark* coin'd; and I cannot find any mention made of any ſuch Piece of *Gold*, ſince the *Norman Conqueſt*; tho' probably there was, before, among the *Saxons*, with ſome Mark or Signature upon it, for the Engliſh Word to *mark*, does probably come from it, or that from the Verb.

Angel. There was never any ſuch Piece of Silver coined; but becauſe the Golden Piece of that Name, was valued at X *s.* therefore X *s.* is called an *Angel.* And ſo it is with the Word

Noble. Which goes for VI *s.* VIII *d.* in Accounts: but there has not been any ſuch Piece of Gold coined, at that Price, ſince the 9 *H.* 5. and when they were firſt coined by *E.* 3. 1345, they ſeem not to have been very acceptable to the Nation, for thus *H. Knyton*, pag. 2484. repreſents the Matter. *About this Time the Noble, Obolus, and Ferthing of Gold, began to go about in the Kingdom; upon which the Parliament ordained, that none of the Commons ſhould be compelled, in any Payments, to take above XX* s. *of this new Money.* This was not, becauſe the Gold was not good (for it was very fine, and of the *Old Standard)* but becauſe, as I imagine, poor People could

could not get it easily changed into Silver, and so would be distressed; for at this Time there were no Silver Coins, but *Pence*, and *Half-pence*, and *Qrs.* it being, at the soonest, 5 Years before there were any *Groats* or *Half-Groats* coined: which was about 1349. I shall lose half a dozen Lines of my *Common-Place-Book*, if I may not under this Head tell you, that in *An.* 1389, there were seven Coiners condemned and hanged, for bringing a *Noble* (not to 9 Pence, but) to X *s.* making thence 6 *Quadrantes*, or Farthings. A *Noble* of right contained 80 *d.* the *Obolus* or Half contained 40 *d.* and the *Quadrans* or Farthing contained 20 *d.* But by these false Coiners, a *Noble* was brought to 120 *d.* the *Obol.* to 60 *d.* and the *Qu.* to 30 *d.* so that there were 2 *Quadrantes*, above the 4 good ones; which was their Profit. *Ed.* 4. raised the *Noble* from VI *s.* VIII *d.* to X *s.* which, tho' it was good Gold, and called by another Name (a *Rial)* yet was not well accepted, but thought to be to the Prejudice of the Commonwealth, but for what Reason I know not.

A **Crown.** The first *Silver* Coin of the Value of V *s.* (that I can observe) was in *Ed.* 6. Days; the *Name* is old, but then it was always Gold.

Half-Crowns. Of the same Date with *Crowns*, and never before.

Shillings, *Solidus.* The *Latin* Word is of most uncertain Signification, and to be determined by every particular Nation: but the Word *Scylling* or *Shilling*, never signified in *England* but

but 5 Pence, with the *Saxons*, and 12 *d.* ever ſince: when it went for 12 *d.* at firſt, is hard to ſay. But, as common as this Word is, in all Books, and all Accounts, yet there was never, that appears, any Piece of Silver of that Denomination coined in *England* till the Year 1504, when *Fabian* ſays, *A new Coin of Silver Groats, and Half-Groats, and Shillings with half-faces, was made.* *Stow* ſays, in the ſame Year, *A new Coin was by Parliament appointed*, i. e. *Groat and Half-Groat, which bare but half-faces. The ſame Time alſo was coined a Groat, which was in Value* 12d. *but of theſe but a few were coined.* He does not call them *Shillings*, but *Fabian* does, and he lived at that very Time, and was an obſerving *Citizen.* However, the Name does not appear, in Mr. *Lowndes*'s Accounts, till a great while after. But *Stow* ſays, 6 *E.* 6. *there were coin'd, a Piece of Silver of V*s. *a 2d Piece of II*s. *VI*d, *a third Piece of a Shilling*; *a 4th VI*d. *and of ſmaller Money, a Penny of the Double Roſe, not Sterling but baſe*; *a Half-Penny of the Single Roſe*; *and a Farthing with a Portcloſe.* Alſo in 34 *H.* 8. there were coin'd *Teſtons* of 12 *d.* but not called *Shillings.* 13 *d. ob.* 9 *d.* and 4 *d. ob.* were all Pieces that came from *Scotland* in the Reign of *Jac.* 1. (tho' ſome of them were coin'd in *England)* and therefore I meddle not with them.

Teſtons, Or, as we commonly call them, *Teſters*, from a *Head* that was upon them, were coin'd (as is before ſaid) 34 *H.* 8. Sir *H. Spelman* ſays, they are a *French* Coin, of the Value

Value of 18 *d.* and he does not know, but they might have gone for as much in *England*. He says it was *Brass*, and covered over with *Silver*, and went in *H.* 8th's Days for 12 *d.* but 1 *Ed.* 6. it was brought down to 9 *d.* and then to 6 *d.* (which still retains the Name) and in *An.* 1559 to 4 *d. ob.* *Stow* says there was a second sort of *Testons*, which in 1559 was cried down to 2 *d. q.* And a third sort that was made unpassable at any Rate. 'Tis certain there were very good ones coined in *E.* 6th's Time; and they have still continued under all Princes, under the same Name, and are the usefullest Pieces we have.

Groats. See of them, under a *Penny*. *Grossus* signifies *great*; and a *Groat* was a *great* Piece with respect to a *Penny*, which was but a 4th Part, and the greatest Piece (in all likelyhood) then coin'd.

Three-Pence. No mention made of them till 1561, when Queen *Elizabeth* coin'd them, with 6 *d.* 4 *d.* 2 *d.* 1 *d.* 1 *ob.* and *ob. q.* Pieces, and called-in all the base Money in the Kingdom; and set our Coin upon that noble Foot on which it now stands; which, because it was of the greatest Benefit to the Nation, is one of the greatest Glories of her Reign; for those are the truest and most lasting Honours, that are built upon the Publick Good, procured or preserved by Princes.

Penny, *Denarius*, was the *first* coined Piece of Silver we have notice of, and, for many Years, the *only* one; in *H.* 1st's Days 'tis certain

there were *Half-Pence*; and 9 *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 3. 'tis enacted, That no *Sterling* (*i. e.* Penny) *Half-Penny*, nor *Farthing*, should be melted down by the Goldsmiths; which is a good Proof, that there were, at that time (which was *An.* 1335) no other Pieces of Silver coined. And 4 *H.* 4. it was enacted, That one *Third* of the Silver coined, should be coined into Half-Pence and Farthings. A *Penny* was indeed so much the Whole of the current Coin of the Kingdom, that *Denarius* was the same thing with *Nummus*, or Money: And therefore *Simeon Dunelm*, 1126, says, the Men that were found to have made false *Money*, i. e. *Denarii* not of pure Silver, were hanged. And (when it is any determined Sum that is spoken of) *Nummus* does generally signify a *Penny*. So *M. Westm. An.* 1095, says, that tho' there were more than 300000 Men marching to the *Holy Land*, yet Provision was so plentiful that a *Ram* was sold at a *Penny (uno Nummo)* and an *Ox* at (12 *Nummis)* 12 *d.* Dr. *Hicks* (in his *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 109.) says, that the *Anglo-Saxons* had but *one* Silver Coin among them, and that was a *Penny*. So says Mr. *Camden*, Sir *H. Spelman*, and most of our good Antiquaries. And therefore when we find the honest and industrious Mr. *Speed*, in his *Chronicle*, gives us the *Three-Pences* of so many *Saxon Kings*, from *Cheuline* and *Egbert*, *An.* 562, down to *Ed. the Confessor*; the *Two-Pence* of *Harold*; and again, the *Three-Pences* of *W.* Con. *W.* 2. *H.* 1. *Stephen*, *H.* 2. *John*, *H.* 3. and a *Two-Pence* of *R.* 1. and

that

that from the Treasury of that noble Antiquary Sir *R. Cotton*; we have Leave [for many Reasons] to think him mistaken; since in our Histories we find no Mention of any such Pieces as *Three-Pences*, before the Beginning of *Eliz.* The *Present State of* England (which is an excellent Book, and to whose Perfection every One should contribute, because it gives an Account of all our Affairs, both to Foreigners, and Natives) is also to be corrected in this Particular, when it says, that *in* Ed. *the 1st's Time* 4 d. 3 d. *and* 2 *d. were coin'd*, which certainly is not true. But all the Observations I shall make on the *Penny*, will be bestowed, in some few Notes, upon a Passage, which I have transcribed from Mr. *Stow* in the Year 1279, as follows.

'Whereas, before this Time, the Penny was 'wont to have a double Cross with a Crest, in 'such sort that the same might be easily broken 'in the midst, or into four Quarters, and so 'to be made into Half-pence, or Farthings; 'which Order was taken in the Year of Christ '1106, the 7 *H.* 1. It was now *(a)* ordained, 'that Pence, Half-Pence, and Farthings, 'should be made Round; whereupon were 'made these Verses following:

'Edward *did smite Round Penny, Half-*
'*Penny, Farthing,*
'*The Crosse passes the bond of all, throughout the Ring:*

'*The King's ſide, was his head and his Name*
'*written (b)*
'*The Croſſe ſide, what City it was in coyned*
'*and ſmitten.*
'*To Poor man, ne to Prieſt, the Penny frayſes*
'*nothing,*
'*Men give God, ay, the leaſt; they feaſt him*
'*with a farthing.*
'*A thouſand, two hundred, fourſcore years*
'*and mo,*
'*On this Money men wondred, when it firſt*
'*began to goe.*

'And beſides theſe Moneys, there was coined '*Groats (c)* containing 4 *d.* the Piece (for what 'follows, he quotes *Regiſtr.* of *Bury)* the 'Pound of Eſterling Money, at this time, con-'taining 12 Ounces; to wit, fine Silver (ſuch 'as Men make into Foyle or Leaves, and is 'commonly called Silver of *Gutherom Lane)* '11 Ounces, 2 Eſterlings *(d)* and one Ferling '*(e)* and the other 17 *d. ob. q.* to be Allay. 'Alſo the Pound ought to weigh of Money 'XX *s.* and III *d.* by Accompt: ſo that no 'Pound ought to be above 20 *s.* 4 *d.* nor leſs 'than 20 *s.* 2 *d.* by Accompt. The Ounce 'is to weigh 20 *d.* the Penny to weigh 24 'Grains *(f)*.

Thus far Mr. *Stow*; to which let me add to the Paſſages that are mark'd, as follows.

(a) It ſhould ſeem by theſe Words, that Pence and Half-Pence were not *Round*, before

fore this Year 1279, but they were certainly *Round* in *H.* the 1ſt's Time. For in 1108, *Sim. Dunelm* ſays, *the King appointed the Pence and Half-Pence ſhould be all Round.* And in 1180, *Philip Aymary* of *Tours* was ſent for, to new coin the Money; which was done, and made all *Round*, as ſaith *Radulf de Diceto.* But, it may be, that *Ed.* 1. was the firſt that appointed *Farthings* ſhould be coin'd (like *Pence* and *Half-Pence) Round. Tho. Walſingham* 1280, and *H. Knyghton*, p. 2678, agree with *M. Weſtm.* in 1279, to ſay the ſame thing; that becauſe the Penny was broken in half, to make 2 *Oboli*, and the *Oboli* again broken in halves, to make 4 *Quadrantes* or Farthings, it was ordained to coin the *Oboli*, and *Quadrantes*, Round; ſo that the Opportunity of cutting from each *Ob.* or *Quadr.* was taken away. And yet the ſame *T. Walſingham*, in 1278, repreſents Matters as if the *Obolus* had been diſtinctly coined before this, in the Shape of a *Semicircle. Obolus qui prius formam habebat Semicirculi, tanquam pars Denarii in medio diviſi, fit rotundus.* Whereas, in truth, whenever it was in this Shape, it was certainly one half of a *Penny*, broken in ſunder.

(b) Name written. The Name of the King was indeed written, whether *Will. Henricus, Ricardus*, or *Edvardus:* But no Body, from thence, can tell whether it were *W.* I. or II. *Hen.* I, II, III, IV, V, VI. or, *Ed.* I, II, III, IV. and, as far as I could ever find, *H.* VII. was the firſt that was to be certainly known

by that Distinction, whose Name I have seen mark'd on a Silver Groat, *Henric.* VII. But in this I may be mistaken, having not seen all Coins, and yet enow to venture this Remark.

(c) **Groats.** This is the first Time, that I have seen *Groats* mentioned to be coin'd, in 1279. And tho' I never suspect Mr. *Stow*'s Faithfulness, or Industry, yet I believe he was here mistaken; as well, because in 9 *E.* 3. no mention is made of them, when Pence and Half-Pence are forbidden to be melted by the Goldsmith, since the same Reason would have forbidden the melting down *Groats* (as afterwards was done 17 *R.* 2.) which forbad the melting the others; as also because that Coin appears not in Mr. *Lowndes*'s Accounts, before the 27 *E.* 3. which was in 1353, tho' *Tho. Walsingham* mentions them in 1351, but he seems not to have known there were ever any such Pieces before that Year: For in that Year, he says, that, Wm. Edington, *Bp. of* Winton, *and L. Treasurer, a Man of great Prudence, but one who consulted more the King's Profit than that of the Kingdom, found out and coin'd new Pieces*; i. e. Grossum & dimidium Grossi. *Groats and Half-Groats, but of less Weight than they ought to have been. i. e.* I suppose, they weighed not as much as 4 Penny's. After this, we meet with the Name often, and most commonly applied to 4 *d.* tho' (as I think) sometimes to more than 4 *d.* You may also see that 2 *d.* was not called by the Name *Two Pence*, but a *Half-Groat*, or *Half-Groz.* And

in

in 19 *H.* 7. *Half-Groats* are called *Pence of Two-Pence*. *H. Knyton* mentions *Grossa* in 1378, and says it was 4 *d.* and so much was given to the King for every Man and Woman.

(d) Esterlings. Here *Sterling* signifies a *Penny-weight*, because it signifies a *Penny* of fine Silver, which is now called *Standard*. And I have never, but once, seen *Sterling* (when it signifies a Piece of Money) stand for any thing but a *Penny*, and that is, in *Monasticon Angl.* 2 Vol. p. 471. where it signifies a *Half-Penny*: For there it is said, that *Hens* were a *Sterling* a-piece; not in express Words, but by Consequence; for it is there said, that Wheat was 2 *s.* the Quarter; and that the 6th Part of a Bushel of Wheat was valued at a *Sterling*; now the Bushel is valued at 3 *d.* (when the Quarter is at 2 *s.*) and the 6th Part of 3 *d.* is a Half-Penny; and so *Sterling* must be there a *Half-Penny*. This was occasioned by *Ed.* 1. calling in *Pollards*, *Crocards*, or *Cocodones*, and *Rosary's*; all which were coined, and brought into *England* by Foreigners, and underhand went for *Sterlings*, (*i. e.* for Pence,) but in the Year 1301, were suffered to go but for *Oboli*, or Half-Pence; and that not long neither: for at *Christmas* they were called in, and made *Oboli*; and at *Easter* following they were cried down quite: But Corruptions are not so easily parted with; they went current among the People longer, and retained still the Name of *Sterlings*, tho' they went for but *Half-Pence*. *H. Knyghton*, p. 2493.

(e) Ferling, is a *Farthing*, or the 4th Part of a *Sterling*.

(f) The *Penny-weight* is here said to contain 24 Grains; and so it does to this Day. Yet *Tho. Rudborn, in Hist. Maj. Winton Anglia Sacra*, V. I. *p.* 257. says it was determined by *W.* Conq. 1083, that a *Penny Sterling*, round and unclip'd, was to weigh 32 Grains. However, we are sure it was so determined by Act of Parl. 51 *H.* 3. and so again, 12 *H.* 7. *That every Sterling shall weigh* 32 *Grains of Wheat, that grew in the midst of the Ear of Wheat; and a Standard for the King's Treasury is to be made according to this Assize.* To reconcile this Difference, 'tis probable, that 24 Grains, as they are Weights to weigh by, may be truly as heavy as 32 Grains of Wheat; which is as much as the Acts of Parliament require; and it would have been troublesome to have made a Brass Weight no heavier than the 32d Part of a Penny.

Obolus signifies an Half-Penny, or (as you have seen before) the half of any Thing. And as *Denariatus Terræ* signifies a *Perch* of Land (or let it be any other Measure, or Quantity) so *Obolatus Terræ* signifies *half* that Land; and a *Farthing* (called also *Fardella*, *Fardingdela*, *Farundel*, and other Names, which you may see in S. *H. Spelman*'s *Gloss.)* signifies a *Quarter* of it. So *Acra*, an Acre of Land, contains (like a Mark in Money) 160 *Den.* 320 *Ob.* and 640 *Quadrantes.* I cannot find when *Obolus*, Half-Penny, was first coined: but

but we may imagine it was coined as early as ever we can find it mentioned, because it is not a Denomination, which may be answered by other Money (as a *Pound* by 20 *s.* if there had been any Shillings, or a Mark, by 13 *s.* 4 *d.* or a Shilling by 12 Pence) but it must be a distinct coin'd Piece. And so for

Ferlingus, or *Farthing*. I shall make an end when I have observed to you, that when you meet, in old Donations, with such Words as *Librata Terræ*, *Marcata*, *Solidata*, or *Denariata*, and the like, you are to understand as much Land as will yield the Rent of a *Pound*, a *Mark*, a *Shilling*, or a *Penny*, by the Year.

Here follows a TABLE, by which you will perceive into how many *Shillings* a Pound-weight of Silver has, at several Times, been coin'd; together with its Allay, and what the Ounce was worth in common Estimation.

Years.	*Finen.*	*Allay.*	*Shillings.*	*Ounce worth.*	
	oz. dw.	*oz. dw.*	*s.* *d.*	*l. s. d.*	
28 *E.* 1.	11 2	0 18	xx iii	0 1 8¼	
20 *E.* 3.	11 2	0 18	xxii vi	0 1 10½	
27 *E.* 3.	11 2	0 18	xxv	0 2 1	And thus it continued all the Reign of *E.* 3. *R.* 2 *H.* 4. till 9 *H.* 5.
9 *H.* 5.	11 2	0 18	xxx	0 2 6	
1 *H.* 6.	11 2	0 18	xxxvii vi	0 3 1½	
4 *H.* 6.	11 2	0 18	xxx	0 2 6	
24 *H.* 6.	11 2	0 18	xxx	0 2 6	

Fabian

Fabian says, 23 *E.* 3. that he coin'd Groats and Half-Groats that wanted 2 *s.* 6 *d.* of the Old Standard, in a Pound *Troy*. This was in 1349, or 1350, but it is a Year, or two, too soon.

Years.	*Finen.*	*Allay.*	*Shillings.*	*Ounce worth.*	
	oz. d. w.	*oz. d. w.*	*s.* *d.*	*l. s. d.*	
49 (39) *H.* 6.	11 2	0 18	XXXVII VI	0 3 1½	
5, 8, 11, 16, 24, *E.* 4.					
1 *R.* 3.	11 2	0 18	XXXVII VI	0 3 1½	
9 *H.* 7.					
1 *H.* 8.	11 2	0 18	XXXXV	0 3 9	
34 *H.* 8.	10 0	2 0	XXXXVIII	0 4 0	In reality fine Silver 4*s.* 9*d.* ½ the Ounce.
36 *H.* 8.	6 0	6 0	XXXXVIII	0 4 0	In reality to 8*s.* the Oz.
37 *H.* 8.	4 0	8 0	XXXXVIII	0 4 0	In reality to 12*s.* the Oz.
1 *E.* 6.	4 0	8 0	XXXXVIII	0 4 0	In reality to 12*s.* the Oz.
3 *E.* 6.	6 0	6 0	LXXII	0 6 0	In reality to 12*s.* the Oz.
5 *E.* 6.	3 0	9 0	LXXII	0 6 0	In reality to 1*l.* 4*s.* the Oz.
6 *E.* 6.	11 1	0 19	LX	0 5 0	
Q. *Mary*	11 0	1 0	LX	0 5 0	
2 *Eliz.*	11 2	0 18	LX	0 5 0	
19 *Eliz.*	11 2	0 18	LX	0 5 0	

Years.

Years.	Finen.	Allay.	Shillings.	Ounce worth.
	oz. dw.	oz. dw.	s. d.	l. s. d.
43 *Eliz.*	11 2	0 18	LXII	0 5 2
Jac. 1.				
Car. 1.				
Car. 2.	11 2	0 18	LXII	0 5 2
Jac. 2.				
W. & *M.*				
Q. *Anne.*				

I cannot leave this Head, till I have taken notice of one or two Specialties relating to Coin. The firſt is, that when Sir *Rob. Cotton* was called to deliver his Opinion, touching the *Alteration of the Coin*, before the Lords of the Privy-Council in 2 *Car.* 1. he lays great load on the Reign of *H.* 6. for Miſmanagement of this Affair of Money, as if it had ſuffered ſome extraordinary Debaſement in his Time, and done him great Diſhonour, and great Miſchief in the Minds of his Subjects, and afforded his Rival (*Rich.* D. of *York*) an Occaſion of high Complaint. And that when my Lord Treaſurer *Burleigh*, and Sir *Thomas Smith*, were called upon by Queen *Elizabeth*, to deliver their Opinions about the Change of Money, they adviſed her to reduce the Standard to the ancient

Parity

Parity and *Purity* of her Great-Grand-Father King *Ed.* 4. Upon this, I cannot but obſerve, that *H.* 5. in the 9th of his Reign (according to Mr. *Lowndes*'s *Accounts)* had raiſed the Money to XXX *s.* the Pound; and that *H.* 6. in the firſt of his Reign, advanced it to XXXVII *s.* VI *d.* but keeping ſtill to the *Old Standard* of Finéneſs (without a Change of which, all other Changes ſeem to be but merely *nominal*; for 37 *s.* and 6 *d.* will buy no more Wheat, than 30 *s.* will do when once People come to know there is no more fine Silver in 37 *s.* 6 *d.* than in 30 *s.*) but even this Change continued not long, for 2 *H.* 6. *c.* 13. upon Complaint made in *Parliament*, that there was a Scarcity of *white Money*, by reaſon that Silver uncoined was bought and ſold at XXXII *s.* the *Pound Troy*; whereas it was of no more Value, when coin'd, than XXXII *s.* (12 *d.* abated for the Coinage) it was enacted that none ſhould buy or ſell any Silver uncoined for above XXX *s.* the *Pound Troy*, beſides the Faſhion. I will not anſwer for the Reaſonableneſs of this Act; but it proves clearly that the *Pound* did not long contain 37 *s.* 6 *d.* and it appears evidently, that 4 *H.* 6. it came again to XXX *s.* and ſo continued to the very laſt Year of his Reign, when it was again advanced to 37 *s.* 6 *d.* and ſo continued for near 50 Years. So that the greateſt *Debaſement* of King *H.* 6. was juſt equal to, and indeed the ſame with, the *Parity* and *Purity* of King *Ed.* 4.

The

The greatest *Debasement* of Money, is the greatest *Allay*, or Mixture of baser Metal with Silver (and that is only bad, because People are deceived by its Looks, and know not how much fine Silver there is in such or such a Piece) and that was in 5 *Ed.* 6. when 9 Ounces of *Allay* were added to 3 Ounces of *fine Silver*, and coin'd into 72 Shillings; so that a Pound of fine Silver, at that rate of Mixture, was coin'd into 288 *s.* or 14 *l.* 8 *s.* and the Ounce into 24 *s.* which was intolerable; and when in the Year following, this *Base* Money was called down, the People suffered extremely by it. I have by me now, an Account of that Time, wherein, by the *first* Proclamation (dated *July* 9.) a *College* lost (out of an 118 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.*) 29 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d. ob. q.* And by the *second* Proclamation (dated *Aug.* 17. immediately following) out of 45 *l.* 3 *s.* the *College* lost 15 *l.* 1 *s.* which was a 4th and a 3d Part of every One's Cash, in the Space of two Months. It will be much for the Honour of *the late Reign*, to have remedied the greatest Abuse of Money, that was ever known in *England*, at a Time of the greatest Danger and Expence, with very little Grievance of the People. But, sure, 'tis better to prevent a moderate Mischief, than redress a very great one; and, perhaps, a *Proclamation* of three or four Lines, forbidding any *clipped* Money to be received in the King's Exchequer, in 1690, would have prevented the clipping and spoiling 5 Millions. The *second* Thing I would observe, is, That an Histo-

rian

rian who lived in the Days of *H.* 6. and *E.* 4. tells us, that such was the Enmity of the *House of York*, to *that of Lancaster*, that when *Ed.* 4. came to the Crown, not only all that was given and gotten, under the three foregoing Reigns of *Henry* 4, 5, 6. was taken away; but that the *Money* also, as well *Gold*, as *Silver*, was changed and coined a-new, that the Name of *Henry* might be no more remembred. *Sed & Moneta tam in Auro, quam Argento, ut Nomen in ea prorsus deleatur* Henrici, *similiter mutata est, & denuo fabricata. Continuatio Hist. Croyland, An.* 1461. But Time hath made all even again, and left us as many Coins of the *Henry*'s, as of *Edward* the 4th.

The last Thing I would observe to you is, That tho' (as you see in the Table) the *Pound* was sometimes 22 *s.* 6 *d.* 25 *s.* 30 *s.* 37 *s.* 6 *d.* 45 *s.* 48 *s.* 72 *s.* 60 *s.* and 62 *s.* as it now stands: Yet, in *Accompts*, it always signified 20 *s.* just, and neither more nor less. When the Pound contain'd (for Example) 30 *s.* he who owed another Man *Five Pounds*, did not pay him 150 *s.* but an 100. And 'tis as certain that an 100 *s.* signified *five Pounds* at that time, and no less, as it does now. This must have been ever since XX *s.* came to *weigh*, and to be called, a *Pound.* And so it was with the *Saxon* Pound, that was always 48 *s.* And he who owed *five Pounds*, before the *Norman Times*, did certainly pay 240 *s.* which was, both in *Weight* and *Denomination*, five Pounds: Whereas five Pounds are now only so in *Name*, and

and not in *Weight*. Let me end this Chapter, with giving you the Names (from Mr. *Camden*) of ſeveral falſe and ſmall Pieces, that were heretofore in uſe among our Fathers. In the Time of *E.* 3. *Crocards*, *Pollards*, *Roſaries*, *Cocodones*, *Stepings*, and *Staldings*, were cried down. *Gally-Half-Pence*, which were brought hither by the *Genoeſe Gallies*, cried down by *H.* 4. *Suſkins* and *Dodkins* by *H.* 5. and *Blanks* by *H.* 6. There were alſo little Pieces coined by *H.* 7. called *Dandypratts*, which, I ſuppoſe, were little and contemptible Things, becauſe that Word has ſince been uſed to ſignify ſmall and worthleſs People.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Price of Corn, *and other* Commodities, *for* 600 *Years laſt paſt.*

HAving diſpatch'd, with what *Exactneſs* I could, the Chapters of *Monies*, I am now come to ſpeak to the Price of *Corn* and other *Commodities*; which is (whether you know it or not) the readieſt way to the Solution of your *Third*, and moſt material Queſtion. For, your Buſineſs is to know (as near as you can) what Eſtate or Sum of Money will *now-a-days* be equal or equivalent to *five Pounds* (let that be the ſuppoſed Sum in this Diſcourſe) in the Reign *H.* VI. and to this End, your Care will be, to find out how much *Meat*, *Drink*, or *Cloth*, might be purchaſed in *H.* VI. Reign, with *Vl.* and then to find out, how much of the Money now current, will be required to purchaſe the ſame Quantity of *Meat*, *Drink*, and *Cloth*. For, ſince Money is of no other Uſe, than as it is the Thing with which we purchaſe

the

the Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life, 'tis evident, that if V *l.* in *H.* VI. Days, would purchaſe 5 *Quarter of Wheat*, 4 *Hogsheads of Beer*, and 6 *Yards of Cloth*, he who then had 5 *l.* in his Pocket, was full as rich a Man as he who has now XX *l.* if with that XX *l.* he can purchaſe no more *Wheat*, *Beer*, or *Cloth*, than the other. I do not mean hereby to prejudge this to be the Proportion; but uſe this Inſtance to let you ſee, that this is the propereſt way of coming to know, what Eſtate is *now* moſt anſwerable to an Eſtate of V *l. per. An.* 250 Years ago. And tho' the comparing the Reign of *H.* VI. with your own Times, would be ſufficient for your particular Purpoſe; yet ſince I have made the ſame *Collections*, for the Years foregoing, and for thoſe which follow the Reign of *H.* VI. it will be (I believe) neither ungrateful nor unprofitable, to give them to the Reader; eſpecially ſince other *Colleges*, which may be under the like Obligations, were founded, ſome *before*, and ſome *ſince*, the Reign of *H.* VI. It will be moſt for the Reader's Uſe, and Eaſe,

that I set down the Particulars in *Order of Time*; and if he shall chance to judge many of them to be trivial (as some perhaps will judge them all to be) as standing by themselves, I desire him to consider, that, in Conjunction with the rest, they may be of some Moment; and that others may like to see those very Particulars which he so little esteems. As to the *Year of our Lord*, (into which I change the *Years of the Kings Reigns*) I will not pretend to be most exact; as well because I think it not much to the Purpose to be so, as also because each Year of a King's Reign does unavoidably fall into two Years of *our Lord*, and if I hit either of them, or come very near them, it answers my Intention.

In King *Ina*'s Laws, which were made betwixt 712, and 727, it is said, *Ovis cum Agno suo valet unum Solidum, usque ad XIII Noctes post Pascha.* An Ewe, with her Lamb, is worth one Shilling, till 13 Nights after Easter. *Bromton. Chr.* 766. but instead of 13, it should be 14, as it is in the *Saxon* of Mr. *Lambard.*

Between

Between the Years 900, and 1000, *Ednoth* bought 2 Hydes of Land at *Stapleford* (in *Bedfordshire*) for C. Shil. of the best Silver, and gave them to *Ramsey Abby*. D. *Gale*'s *Hist. Rams.* 415. and *p.* 471. *Hist. Elienſ.* a *Palfry* was at X *s.* which was about the Year 966. And *p.* 473. an Acre of Land was purchaſed at 1 *s.* and a Hyde at C. *s.* from whence one might think, that a Hyde contained an 100 Acres, but it contained 120 Acres. And, once for all, you will do well to remember, that a *Hyde*, a *Yard-Land*, and a *Knight*'s *Fee*, contains no certain Number of Acres, but differs according to different Places; as you may ſee in the *Gloſſaries*.

In the *Senatus Conſulta de Monticolis*, in the Time of King *Ethelred*, about the Year 1000, if a Horſe be loſt, the Compenſation muſt be 30 *s.* A Mare, or Colt of a Year old, 20 *s.* A Mule or young Aſſe at 12 *s.* An Ox at 30 *d.* A Cow 24 *d.* A Swine 8 *d.* A Man one Pound. A Sheep 1 *s.* A Goat at 11 *d.* *Note*, That this is Saxon Money,

5 *d.* to the Shill. and 48 *s.* to the Pound. *Whelock*, *p.* 96.

In 1043, *Chron. Saxon.* Corn was so dear, as no One ever remembred it; insomuch that a *Sester* of Wheat was sold for LX *d.* *H.* of *Huntingdon* explains this *Sextarius*, by saying it was as much as would load a Horse; and so does *Rob. de Monte*, in 1041. and both of them say it was sold for V *Sol.* And both of them lived about the Year 1140. A *Sester* or *Sextarius* was what we now call a *Quarter*, or a *Seam*, containing 8 Bushels. So Sir *H. Spelman.* And, in Confirmation of it, cites *Huntington*, L. 6. *Circa hoc tempus (scil. Ed. Confess.) tanta fames Angliam invasit, quod Sextarius Frumenti, qui Equo uni solet esse oneri, venundaretur V. Solidis, & etiam plus.* These two Authors, that wrote in *Latin*, and lived an 100 Years after, in the *Norman* Times, translated LX *d.* into V Sol. because in *their* Days the Shilling contained 12 *d.* But in the *Saxon* Times, *i. e.* when this Famine or Scarcity happened, 1043, the Shilling contained but 5 *d.* so that

LX *d.*

LX *d.* with the *Saxons* was XII *Sol.* So the Fragment of *Ælfric Grammaticus* (cited by Mr. *Somner)* who died, as Mr. *Wharton* thinks, in *An.* 1051, *Anglia Sacr.* P. I. *Libra on Leden is Pund on Engliſc, Fif Penegas gemacigath ænne Scillinge, & XXX Penega ænne Mancs.* i. e. *Libra* in Latin is a *Pound* in Engliſh, *Five* Pennies make *one* Schilling, and 30 Pennies a *Mark.* A *Mark* was therefore VI *Sol.* as I have before obſerved, becauſe there are 6 times 5 in 30.

And it will not be amiſs, to hint to you, on this Occaſion, the Neceſſity there is of remembering how near your *Author* lived to the Times he writes of; becauſe moſt Men are apt to ſpeak of Ages paſt, according to the Ways and Cuſtoms of their own. Thus, in the Laws of King *Athelſtan*, as they are tranſlated by *John Brompton (inter X Scriptores) pag.* 847. an Offender is to forfeit for his *firſt* Fault, XXX *d.* for his *ſecond*, LX *d.* and for his *third*, X *s.* Now this could not poſſibly be in King *Athelſtan*'s Time, when LX *d.* made XII *s.* but in *John Brompton*'s Time,

(who lived under *Ed.* III.) X *s.* was double (as it ſtill is) to LX *d.* and was a *treble* Mulct for a *third* Offence, as reaſon required. And thus in *L.* 59, of King *Ina*, He who wounds or maims the *Horn* of an Ox, is to pay X *d.* [*Brompton* ſays V *d.*] of a Cow, 2 *d.* [*B.* ſays V *d.*] Who cuts off the *Tail* of an Ox, is to pay IV *d.* [*B.* ſays V *d.*] of a Cow, V *d.* Who puts out the *Eye* of an Ox, is to pay V *d.* of a Cow, a *Shilling*. [*Brompton* ſays 12 *d.*] Now, tho' a Shilling in *Brompton*'s Time had in it 12 *d.* yet in *Ina*'s Time, it had but 5 *d.* I could give you many Inſtances of this Nature, if it were uſeful; but theſe (which are not alien from my Deſign) may ſuffice to juſtify the Caution I gave you, of minding your Author's Age. But, leaving you to take part, either with my Conjectures or with the two above-named Authors, *Rob. de Monte*, and *H. Huntington*, I ſet down the Price of a Quarter of Wheat,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
in 1043, at—— —— —	00	00	60
In 1125, a *Sextar* or Quarter of Wheat, at —— —	01	00	00

So

So ſay *Annales de Margan* (put out by Dr. *Gale*) there was ſo great a Famine. But *H. Huntington* in the ſame Year ſays, *p.* 382. *Vendebatur Onus equi frumentarium VIs.* And *Rob. de Monte*, in the ſame Year, ſays it was the deareſt Year in *England*, that was ever known; for a Horſe-load of Wheat was ſold at VI *Sol.* This, upon the Credit of theſe two Writers, ſeems more likely than the Price ſet by the *Annaliſt*, of 20 *s.*

If the *Liber niger Schaccarii* were written in the Time of *H.* I. as ſome affirm, it ought to be noted down, in the next place, (ſince he began 1100, and ended 1135.)

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1. *Pro Menſura Tritici ad Panem Centum Hominum.* ——	00	01	00
2. *Pro Corpore Bovis Paſcualis.* —— —— ——	00	01	00
Pro Præbenda XX Equorum.	00	00	04
3. *Pro Ariete vel Ove* ——	00	00	04

1. This was the Exchange made by the King; that inſtead of *Proviſions* for his Houſhold, he might have ſome ready *Money* to defray the Expences of his Court, and pay his Soldiers. Inſtead, therefore, of *Bread* for a

100 Men (for one Meal, I ſuppoſe) the Tenant was to pay a *Shilling*.

2. Inſtead of a ſtalled Ox, the Tenant was to pay a *Shilling*. Mr. *Selden*, in his Notes on *Eadmer*, ſays it was *five* Shillings. But Sir *H. Spelman* (in v. *Firma)* who ſaw the Book, and tranſcrib'd this Paſſage, puts it down *Solidum unum*; and him I follow. He ſays, it is a Book on which the Sun does ſeldom ſhine; meaning, that it is rarely ſeen and hard to come at. He had the Opportunity of tranſcribing many Pieces of it, which he has given, in ſeveral Places of his *Gloſſary*; and ſo has Mr. *Lownds* tranſcrib'd a good deal of it, in his *Eſſay*. But this is all that I could find to my preſent Purpoſe.

3. By *Provender* of Horſes is always meant *Oats*. And inſtead of bringing Oats for XX Horſes (for a Night, I imagine) the Tenant was to allow 4 Pence.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In the Laws of *H.* I. *cap.* 76. Forty Sheep are valued at ——	01	00	00

About the Year 1145, the Tenant of a Place was to pay yearly XX *s.* or VII Oxen, each worth III *s. M. Paris*, p. 1013.

In

In 1185, the Tenants of *Shireborn*, are, by Custom, to pay either 2 *d.* or 4 *Hens*, which they will. And by the Custom of *Beleshall*, they are to have a *Ram*, or VIII *d.* (and in the Preface to King *Athelstan*'s Laws, a *Ram* was at 4 *d. Vel unus Aries, qui valeat IIII Denarios.) Monast.* V. II. p. 528.

In 1196, so great a Scarcity of Corn that, at *Salisbury*, a *Sema* of Wheat was sold at——

l.	*s.*	*d.*
00	13	04

In 1197, a *Sema* of Wheat (*i. e.* a Quarter) at —— ——

00	18	08

Tho. Wikes, Chron. Dr. *Gale* (to whom we are obliged for the Edition of this, and other Historians) puts his Note under the Word *Sema, quatuor modios.* Which surely is not so; for *Sema* is a *Quarter*, or 8 Bushel. And so Sir *H. Spelman, Seam VIII modiorum mensura; sic de Frumento dictum, quod unius Equi sit Sauma*, i. e. *Sarcina.* So that, with him, a *Quarter* of Wheat is a Horse-load. And, doubtless, a *Quarter* is a quarter or *fourth* Part of some Load or Weight; for so *quarta, quartalis*, and *quartalium*, signifies a Peck, or the *fourth* Part of a Bushel: and a

	l.	s.	d.
Quart is the *fourth* Part of a Gallon.			
In 1199, King *John* ordered that a Tun of *Poictou* Wine ſhould be ſold for no more than—	01	00	00
A Tun of *Anjou* Wine at —	01	04	00
No *French* Wine above ——	01	05	00
Unleſs ſo very good, that One would be glad to give, *per* Tun —— —— ——	01	06	08
No *Sextarium*, of *Poictou*-Wine, to be ſold above ——	00	00	04
Nor any *White*, dearer than	00	00	06

But the Merchants could not bear this *Aſſize*, and ſold the *Red* for 6 *d.* and the *White* for 8 *d.* the Gallon. *And the Land* (as the Hiſtorian obſerves) *was filled with Drink and Drunkards*. *Annales Burtonenſes*. *An.* 1199. Mr. *Stow* mentions no Meaſure but a Gallon, for *Sextarius*. And Sir *H. Spelman* ſays, that at *Paris*, a *Modius Vini* holds 36 *Sextarios*, and that a *Sextar* is 8 Pints. At this rate *Tonellus Vini* will hold but about 60 Gallons, which is the neareſt to our *Hogſhead*. Mr. *Stow* calls the *Poictou* Wine, Wine of *Rochel*: And for the French Wine he ſays the *Aſſize* was 1 *l.* 6 *s.* and 4 *d.* by the *Tun*. And ſays, *p.* 165. that

they

they who sold by the *Tun*, *Hogs-head*, or otherwise, contrary to this Assize, were to be punished. But, if we are to understand, in this place, a *Tun* of English Measure (which is 252 Gallons) by the Word *Tonellus*, then cannot a Gallon of *Poictou* Wine come to 4 *d.* no, nor to 1 *d.* since in XX*s.* there are but 240*d.* I suspect that *Sextarius* is more than a Gallon: for I do not think, that so long ago as 1199, *Red* Wine at 1 *d. ob.* and *White* at 2 *d.* the Quart, would have filled the Land either with Drink or Drunkards; especially when *Anjou* and *Poictou* were in the *English* Hands; it must be cheaper much, to make that Observation good. And tho' the *Rochel* Hogshead be but 46 Gallons, yet it will not do.

In 1202, so great a Scarcity (occasioned by continual Rains) that a *Quarter* of Wheat was sold for more than *(Annales, Waverl.)* —— —— —— | *l.* 00 | *s.* 12 | *d.* 00

In 1205, there was so great a Frost, lasting from *January* 14. to *March* 19. that Wheat was *(M. Paris)* the Quarter,— | 00 | 12 | 00

Mr.

Mr. *Stow* says the Ground was so hard, that it could not be tilled, and a Quarter of *Wheat* was sold the Summer following for a *Marc*; which, in *H.* II. Days, had usually been at 1 *s.* *Beans* and *Peaſe*, by the Quarter, 6 *s.* 8 *d.* And *Oats*, that were wont to be at 4 *d.* the Quarter, were now at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* *Fabian* puts Wheat, now, at 15 *s.*

In or about 1217, when the King came to *Redbourn*, the *Camerarius* of St. *Albans* loſt three good Horſes, two Aſſes, and a good new Cart: all which were worth, at leaſt, 50 *s.*

When *Fulco de Brent* came to *Langley*, the *Camerarius* loſt three Houſes, that were burnt, and 35 Hogs, which all came to at leaſt X *l.* and a Plow that coſt X *s.* (which is a Miſtake for X *d.*) And when the King of *France*'s *Mareſchal* came, he loſt many Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and other Things, and 24 Horſes, valued, at leaſt, at 40 Marks, *i. e.* 26 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Matth. Paris*, page 1059. The *Camerarius* was the Receiver of the Rents, and who

provided

provided Clothes for the Monks.

In 1123, Wheat was very dear, and sold *per* Quarter, at (*Stow*, in 7 *H.* III.) ——— | *l.* 00 | *s.* 12 | *d.* 00

About 1232, the *Abbot* of St. *Albans*, going a Journey, and attended with six Esquires on Horseback, agrees, that if the Horses die on the Way, he will give for each Horse X *s.* and the Horses are to be strong and handsom; *decentes, & fortes ad portandum. M. Paris*, p. 1051.

In 1237, Wheat was by the Quarter, ——— | 00 | 03 | 04
Barley, ——— | 00 | 02 | 00
Oats, ——— ——— | 00 | 01 | 00

Antiq. Peterborough, p. 304. Where I must observe, that I reduce all Measures to a *Quarter*, for Uniformity's sake. Here I meet with the Word *Sceppe*, which the *Glossaries* forget; but it signifies a *Bushel*, as appears, by casting up the Sum here mentioned, where XXVIII *Quarter* and one *Sceppe* of Wheat are valued at 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* which is just 5 *d.* the *Bushel*.

If you chance to meet with any young Companions of yours, who slight these sort of Studies, you may acquaint them, that the

	l.	s.	d.
preſent excellent, moſt learned, and moſt uſeful Biſhop of *Ely*, put out, with no ſmall Labour of his own, the *Antiquities*, out of which I have told you, what Price, *Wheat* and *Barley*, and *Oats* bare, in or about 1237. Or (as Dr. *Kennet)* 1240.			
In 1243, and 1244, Corn ſo plentiful, that Wheat and Peaſe were each of them by the Quarter *(M. Paris* in *Annis.)* ——	00	02	00
In 1246, a Quarter of Wheat (ſo dear) at *(Tho. Wikes.)* ——	00	16	00
In 1247, a Quarter of Wheat (ſtill dear) at *(Tho. Wikes.)* ——	00	13	04
In 1257, a Quarter of Wheat (exceſſively dear) at *(Fabian)*—	01	04	00
In 1258, ſo great a Famine, that many People were ſtarved, ſo that a Quarter of Wheat was ſold at—— —— —— —	00	16	00
So *Walter Hemingford.* Which makes me ſuſpect, that *Fabian* was miſtaken in his Accounts of the foregoing Year, which make Wheat *one third* dearer. Mr. *Stow* ſays, it was XV *s.* nay XX *s.* the Quarter.			
In 1270, Wheat was ſo dear, that it was ſold at, the Quarter,	4	16	00
And ſometimes at 16 *s.* the Buſh. which makes it at 6 *l.* 8 *s.*			

So

So the *Author* of *Antiq. Britan.* in *Vita Joh. Pecham.* who says that Provisions were so scarce, that Parents did eat their own Children. But, I hope, we need not believe him; 'tis only an Expression of the greatest Want imaginable.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1286, Wheat was at, the Quarter, —— —— ——	00	02	08
But such a Storm of Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, fell on St. *Margaret*'s Night, that Wheat came by degrees to the Quarter, — — —— —	00	16	00

And this Dearness continued off and on for about 40 Years, so that sometimes it sold at *London* for 4 *l.* the Quarter. *H. Knyghton*, p. 2468.

In 1287, Wheat was so cheap, that it was sold at, the Quarter,	00	03	04
1288, So great the Plenty of Corn, and Scarcity of Money, that Wheat was sold, by the Quarter, at — — — —	00	01	06

So *Angl. Sacr. Annales Wigorn.* The *Waverly Annals* say at 2 *s.* Mr. *Stow* says, that Wheat was sold (tho' the hottest Summer that was remembred) at *London* for 3 *s.* 4 *d.* in other Parts of *England*, at 1*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.*

and

and 1 *s.* nay, in the *North* and *West* Parts, at 8 *d.* the Quarter. *Barley* at 6 *d.* and *Oats* at 4 *d.* and *Peaſe* and *Beans* very cheap. And yet *Fabian* ſets it down this Year at 9 *s.* 4 *d.* which is very dear. But it is eaſy to be miſtaken in ſetting down one Year for another. And therefore when *H. Knyghton* ſays, that great Dearneſs continued off and on, for 40 Years, we muſt underſtand him candidly; for now and then, it was, in that Space of Time, exceedingly cheap.

In 1289, *Walſingham* ſays Wheat was ſo cheap, that in ſome Places it was ſold, the Quarter at 1 *s.* 8 *d.* in others at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* and in others at 1 *s.* which does certainly belong to the Year foregoing. *Fabian* makes this a dear Year, and ſays Wheat was by the Quarter at 12 *s.* and ſays it went on increaſing till it came in *Ed.* II. Time to 2 *l.* the Quarter.

It may be, Mr. *Dugdale*'s Account, in his *Warwickſhire Antiq.* may be the more likely, as being between the Extreams of *Walſingham* and *Fabian*, as follows:

Wheat,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Wheat, the Quarter, at——	00	06	00
Rye — — — — —	00	05	00
Barley — — — —	00	03	00
Beans and Peaſe — — —	00	02	08
Oats — — — — —	00	02	00
A Swan at — — — —	00	03	04
A Duck at — — —	00	00	01

Mr. *Stow*'s Account of this Year is, that by reaſon of great Hail, and Rains, Wheat roſe from 2 *s.* the Quarter, to X *s.* 8 *d.* and, by degrees, came to XX *s.* the Quarter.

In 1290, *Tho. Walſingham*, and from him the Author of *Antiq. Britan.* in *Vita Joh. Pecham*, ſays, that Wheat, which had been at 2 *s.* the Quarter, roſe (by reaſon of great Rains and Storms) to — — — — | 00 | 16 | 00

Which Scarcity continued, off and on, for many Years.

In 1294, Wheat (dear) by the Quarter, *(Fabian)* — — | 00 | 16 | 00

And ſometime XX *s.* as *H. Knyghton.*

In 1298, at *Scarborough* in *Yorkſhire*, the Price of an Ox | 00 | 06 | 08
A Cow, at — — — | 00 | 05 | 00
A Heifer, at — — — | 00 | 02 | 00
A Sheep, at — — — | 00 | 00 | 01

Monaſticon, Vol. 2. p. 403.

In 1299, This Year, was made an Act of *Common-Council*, for Prices of Victuals to be sold at *London*, by Consent of the King and Nobility: And as to Poultry, it was as follows. *Stow.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A fat Cock — — —	00	00	01½
Two Pullets — — —	00	00	01½
A fat Capon — — —	00	00	02½
A Goose — — — —	00	00	04
A Mallard — — —	00	00	01½
A Partrich — — —	00	00	01½
A Pheasant — — —	00	00	04
A Heron — — —	00	00	06
A Plover — — — —	00	00	01
A Swan — — — —	00	03	00
A Crane — — — —	00	01	00
Two Woodcocks — — —	00	00	01½
A fat Lamb, from *Christmass* to *Shrovetide* — — — —	00	01	04
The same, for all the Year after — — — — —	00	00	04

In 1302, in *Dugdale's Hist. of St.* Paul's, *page* 32. Wheat, by the Quarter, at — —

	00	04	00
Malt ground, at — — —	00	03	04
Pease, at — — — —	00	02	06
Oats, at — — — —	00	02	00
A Bull, at — — —	00	07	04
A Cow, at — — —	00	06	00
A fat Mutton, at — —	00	01	00
An Ewe Sheep, at — —	00	00	08

A Capon,

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A Capon, at —— ——	00	00	02
A Cock or Hen, — —	00	00	01½

In 1309, *Will. Thorn (inter X. Scriptores)* in his *Chron. p.* 2010. gives us an Account of the Feaſt which *Ralf de Born*, *Prior* of St. *Auguſtine*'s, *Cant.* made on his Inſtallation-Day: In which it appears that he paid very great Rates for many Particulars of his Bill of Fare, conſidering the Times. I have given the Whole, but computed the Price of each Particular, that the Reader may ſee a little of the Spirit of that Age, and alſo what Proportion Commodities *then* bore, to what they do at this Day. And it will not be amiſs to give him the Preface which *William Thorn* makes to this Bill of Fare. *Becauſe* (ſays he) *the preſent Times* (1380) *may not, by any Means, be compared with the foregoing ones, for Plenty and Abundance of all ſorts of Things, I have thought it convenient to give the following Account of this Feaſt, not that Poſterity might imitate this Coſtlineſs, but rather might admire it.* And thus it was:

	l.	s.	d.
Of Wheat, 53 Quarters, Price XIX *l.* [So that a Quarter came to —— —— —— ——	00	07	02
Of Malt, 58 Quart. Price XVII *l.* X *s.* [A Quarter at —	00	06	00
Of Wine, 11 Tun, Price XXIIII *l.* [A Tun at or about	02	03	07½
Oats for the Guests, as well within as without the Gates of the City, 20 Quarters, Price IV *l.* [So that a Quarter came to —— —— —— ——	00	04	00
For Spice *(pro Speciebus)* XXVIII *l.*			
For CCC *l.* of Wax, Price VIII *l.* [So that a Pound came to near —— —— ——	00	00	06½
Almonds, D *l.* Price III *l.* XVIII *s.* [So that a Pound came to above —— —— ——	00	00	01¼
XXX Ox Carcasses *(pro Carcoisis Boum)* Pr. XXVII *l.* [Each came to —— —— —	00	18	00
Of Hogs, C. Price XVI *l.* [So that each Hog came to about	00	03	02¼
Of Muttons, [*de Multonibus*] CC. Price XXX *l.* [Each came to —— —— —— —	00	03	00
Of Geese, [*de Aucis*] M. Price XVI *l.* [Each Goose about ——	00	00	03¼
Of Capons and Hens, D. Price VI *l.* V *s.* [Each Fowl came to —— —— ——	00	00	03

Of

	l.	s.	d.
Of Pullets, [*de Pulonibus*] CCCCLXXIII. Price III *l.* XIV *s.* [Each — — —	00	00	01 ½
Of Pigs, [*de Porcellis*] CC. Price V *l.* [Each Pig at — —	00	00	06
Of Swans, 24. Price VII *l.* [Each Swan came to — —	00	05	10
Of Rabbits, 600. Pr. XV *l.* [Each Rabbit came to — —	00	00	06
De Scentis de Braun, 16. Price III *l.* V *s.* Each *Shield of Brawn* (and therefore Mr. *Somner* gueſſes right, that it ſhould be read *Scutis)* came to — — —	00	04	00 ¾
Of Partrich, Mallards, Bitterns *(Butores)* and Larks, XVIII *l.*			
Of Earthen Pots, M. Price XV *s.*			
Of Salt, 9 Quart. Price X *s.* 'tis 9 *Summas.* But 'tis, without doubt, a Miſtake; for Salt was never ſo low as *Three-Half-Pence* the *Buſhel.*			
De Sciphis, M. CCCC *Mugs*, I believe, or *Wooden Cans* to drink in, or it may be *Black Jacks.*			
Diſhes and Platters, [*Platellis*] or Trenchers, M.M.M.CCC.			
De Scopis & Gachis. Price VIII *l.* IV *s.* *Scopa* is a Broom or Beeſom, and, by its Uſe, a Penitentiary *Diſcipline.* But what			

it is here, or what *Gachis* signifies, I know not.

Of Fish, Cheese, Milk, Onions, &c. Price II *l.* X *s.*

Eggs, 9600, Pr. IV *l.* X *s.* Which are about 9 for — —

l.	*s.*	*d.*
00	00	01

Of Saffron [*Crocus*] and Pepper. Price I *l.* XIV *s.*

In Coals, and [*Doleis*] setting up Furnaces. Price II *l.* VIII *s.*

In CCC Ells of Caneum, Canvas, or Flax. Pr. IV *l.*

In making up Tables, Tressels, and Dressers. Price I *l.* XIV *s.*

Given to the Cooks and their Boys, VI *l.*

To the Minstrels, or Musick, III *l.* X *s.*

The Sum total is, CCLXXXVII *l.* VII *s.* taking in the Presents and Gratuities. At this Feast there were 6000 Guests that sat down at the Tables, and they had 3000 Messes. And therefore instead of *quo respondentes* (at the End of this Account) I would read *Correspondentes:* answering to, or setting *Opposite* to each other. And so there was a Mess to each Couple. I observ'd above, that this *Prior* paid dear for many Particulars; and if you will compare this

Account

Account with the foregoing ones, you will find his *Corn* of each kind, his *Beef*, and *Mutton*, and *Swans*, to be at a high Rate: and as for the Article of *Rabbits*, I am almoſt ſure there muſt be ſome Miſtake in it, for they could never be ſo dear (ſo long ago) as 6 *d.* a piece.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1309, a pair of Shoes, (*Spel. Gl. v. Vatarius*) at —	00	00	04

In 1314, *Antiq. Oxon.* Upon the Chancellors and Proctors Complaints to the King, (*E.* II.) that the Market of *Oxford* ran unreaſonably high, ſo that poor Scholars could hardly live, the King ſent down his *Mandate*, to regulate this Affair. But ſince the *Parliament* took the ſame Thing (with reſpect to the whole Nation) into Conſideration, it will be better to give the Rates they thought fit to ſet upon Proviſions, eſpecially ſince there is no Difference, or but a little, betwixt theſe two Accounts. Thus therefore Mr. *Stow* ſets it down.

A ſtalled or Corn-fed Ox, at	01	04	00
A Graſs-fed Ox, — —	00	16	00
A fat ſtall'd Cow, — —	00	12	00
An ordinary Cow, — —	00	10	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A fat Mutton, unshorn (Corn-fed, the *Oxford Antiq.* say) —	00	01	08
A fat Mutton, shorn —	00	01	02
A fat Hog of two Years old (the *Antiq.* say it should be *ovis bima.* But, I think, the Price does not so well agree with that) at — — — — —	00	03	04
A fat Goose in the City, 3 *d.* but every where else, at —	00	00	02½
A fat Capon, in the City, 2 *d.* ½, elsewhere, at — —	00	00	02
A fat Hen, in the City, 1 *d.* ½, elsewhere, at — — --	00	00	01
2 Chickens, in the City 1 *d.* ½, elsewhere, at — ——	00	00	01
4 Pigeons (in the City but 3 Pigeons) for — — —	00	00	01
24 Egs (in the City but 20) for	00	00	01

But notwithstanding this *Act of Parliament*, Things could not be purchased at these Rates, for People would not bring them to Market, (and that is a thing Parliaments cannot remedy) and so the King was fain to revoke the former *Act*, and leave People to sell as they could (for a Trade will do as it can, and never be forced, one way or other) and (as *Walsingham* tells us, in 1315, and 1316,) the Price of Pease

and

	l.	s.	d.
and Beans, and of Wheat, was, by the Quarter, at —— —	01	00	00
Malt, at — — ——	00	13	04
Salt, at —— —— —	01	15	00
Nay (by the Rains in Harveſt) the Dearth was ſuch, that Wheat came to 30, and 40 *s.* the Quarter. And Good Ale was at the Gallon *(per Lagenam*, from whence the Word *Flaggon*, which uſed heretofore to hold 4 Quarts, is derived) —— — — —	00	00	02
The better ſort, at ——	00	00	03
And the beſt of all, at —	00	00	04
So that a Proclamation was fain to be iſſued out, that a *Lagena* of Ale ſhould be ſold at—	00	00	01
And that no Wheat ſhould be malted *(imbraſiatum)* which the *Londoners* had uſually done, to the great Conſumption of Corn, and ſold it at (the Flaggon)	00	00	01½
And the viler Ale, at ——	00	00	01
In 1316, Wheat exceeding dear *(Fabian)* at the Quarter,—	01	12	00
In 1317, ſo great a Scarcity of Corn, that at *Leiceſter*, on a *Saturday*, Wheat was ſold at *(per* Quarter) — — —	02	04	00
And the *Friday* following, at the ſame Place, at 14 *s.* the Quarter.			

So

	l.	s.	d.
So *H. Knyghton*; but there is a Miſtake in his ſaying, the Scarcity continued for two Years, and was general throughout all *England*. *Fabian* puts it this Year, —— — — —	02	13	04
And yet of this very Year 1317, *Stow* tells us, that the Harveſt was in ſo early, that all was houſed before St. *Giles*'s Day, which is *Septemb.* 1, and Wheat, that was before at IV *l.* the Quarter, was now at VI *s.* VIII *d.* and Oats, that was before III *l.* IV *d.* now at V *s.* IV *d.* which makes what *Knyghton* ſays probable; for what he ſays, was but a Decreaſe of *two thirds*: Whereas Mr. *Stow*'s Decreaſe is *eleven in twelve*.			
In 1326, 1 *Ed.* III. at *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, *Inquiſitio unum Capitale Meſſuagium* LXX Acres of Arable Land, worth *per An.* XXXV *s.*			
Twelve Hens, at ——	00	01	06
One Cock and 13 Hens, at —	00	01	07
Eight Porkers and a half, at	00	15	00
80 Acres of Arable, at XX *s.* a. *e. per* Acre —— ——	00	00	03
20 Acres of Paſture, each Acre at —— — ——	00	00	01
14 Acres of Meadow, each at	00	00	04

18 Acres

	l.	s.	d.
18 Acres of Arable, each Acre at —— —— ——	00	00	03
27 Acres of Arable, each at	00	00	04
Two Acres of Meadow, each Acre at —— —— ——	00	00	10
A Cock — — — —	00	00	01
Three Hens — — —	00	00	04½
Mr. *Lambard*'s *Perambulation of* Kent, *p.* 541. You may see from hence, that you can make no certain Computation, from the Rates of Acres, because of the Difference of the Grounds.			
In 1336, such Plenty of Corn, and Scarcity of Money, that Wheat was, at *London*, by the Quarter — — ——	00	02	00
A fat Ox, at — ——	00	06	08
So *H. Knyghton*. And *Fabian* adds,			
For a fat Sheep VI *d.* and at most —— —— — —	00	00	08
VI Pigeons for —— ——	00	00	01
A fat Goose, at —— ——	00	00	02
A Pig —— —— ——	00	00	01
And says it was occasioned by King *E.* III. gathering up all the Money he could get, to carry on his Wars in *France* and *Scotland*.			
In 1338, Wheat, the Quarter, at —— —— —	00	03	04
Barley, at —— ——	00	00	10

Pease

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Peaſe and Beans, the Quarter, at —— —— ——	00	01	00
Oats, the Quarter, at ——	00	00	10
In 1339, ſeveral Undertakers promiſe to deliver at the Town of *Berwick*, and in *Leith-Road*, 10000 Quarters of Wheat and Malt, each Quarter at —	00	09	00
Oats, Beans, and Peaſe, each Quarter at —— ——	00	05	00
Sir *R. Cotton*'s *Abridgm. Records*. This was a high Price.			
In 1343, Two Oxen, Price of each —— ——	00	08	00
In 1344, One Cow, at——	00	05	00
Dr. *Kennet*'s *Paroch. Antiq.*			
In 1348, *H. Knyghton* ſays, that in the Peſtilence, Things were ſold almoſt for nothing. A Horſe worth 40 *s.* was ſold for	00	06	08
A good fat Ox, at —— —	00	04	00
A Cow, at —— —	00	01	00
An Heifer, or Steer, at——	00	00	06
A fat Mutton, at ——	00	00	04
An Ewe, at —— ——	00	00	03
A Lamb, at —— ——	00	00	02
A Hog, at —— ——	00	00	05
A Stone of Wooll, at ——	00	00	09
The Hiſtorian ſays upon this Matter, *Erat leve precium cunctis, præ mortis timore*, p. 2599, they were not only afraid of the Cattles dying, but of their own, for,			

otherwiſe,

	l.	s.	d.
otherwise, *Wooll* need not have been so cheap.			
In 1349, Corn so plentiful, and other Provisions, that Wheat was, by the Quarter, at ——	00	02	00
A fat Ox at *London*, for ——	00	06	08
Antiquit. Britann.			
In 1359, Wheat, very dear, a Quarter, at *(Fabian)* ——	01	06	08
In 1361, Wheat so cheap, that a Quarter was at (*Monast.* V. 2.) —— —— ——	00	02	00
Two Hens for —— ——	00	00	01
In 1363, a Widow is to pay 4 Hens, or in Money ——	00	00	04
XII Hogs at XVIII*s.* each Hog at —— —— ---	00	01	06
Dr. *Kennet*'s *Paroch. Antiq.*			
Yet Wheat so dear, that *Walsingham* says a Quarter was at	00	15	00
In 1369, *Walsingham* says there was such a Dearth, that Wheat was sold, by the Quarter, at 1 *l.* 4 *s.* according to *Stow* —	01	00	00
Barley, at —— —	00	16	04
Oats, at —— ——	00	08	00
In 1379, Wheat so cheap, that the Quarter was at ——	00	04	00
White Wine was sold by the Gallon, for —— —	00	00	06
Red Wine by the Gallon, at *(Stow)* —— ——	00	00	04

In

	l.	s.	d.
In 1382, a Tun of Wine not to exceed *(Stow)* —— —	04	00	00
In 1387, Barley, at *Leiceſter*, ſold by the Quarter, at ——	00	01	00
Wheat, by the Quarter, at	00	02	00
Barley, in the ſame Year, by the Quarter, at —— ——	00	02	00
Peaſe, by the Quarter, at —	00	01	00
Siliginis, (which, what it is, I know not) *per* Quarter, at	00	01	00
In 1390, Wheat at *Leiceſter*, by the Quarter, at ——	00	16	08
and 14*s.* and 13*s.* 4*d.* And Wooll was ſo cheap (by reaſon of a Law that forbad Men to carry it but to ſuch and ſuch Places, for Stranger-Merchants to fetch it, and might not export it themſelves) that it was ſold, by the Stone, at ——	00	03	00
and at 2*s.* and 1*s.* 8*d.* (*H. Knyghton*, who lived at *Leiceſter*.)			
In 1401, Wheat very dear, the Quarter at *(Fabian)* ——	00	16	00
In 1407, in a *Computus*, relating to the *Prior* and *Canons* of *Burceſter Oxf.* are found theſe following Particulars, to our preſent Purpoſe, which I have tranſcribed out of Dr. *Kennet*'s *Parochial Antiquities*; which Book, if you will read it, will pay you for your Time and Pains,			

being

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
being full of many curious, learned, and useful Observations, in this way of Learning.			
For a Cow, ——	00	07	00
For the Calf of that Cow, —	00	01	08
For a Calf of a Cow that was somewhat weak, *debilis*, ——	00	01	00
For 5 Calves (each at 2*s*. 1*d*. ½, very near) —— ——	00	10	08
For 5 Bushels and a half of Salt, —— ——	00	03	04½
For a Cowele or Cooler, in Brewing, —— ——	00	00	09
For a Cow and her Calf, ——	00	07	06
For 2 Bushels of Wheat,	00	00	10
For a Man threshing for V Days	00	00	10
For 2 Oxen — —	01	06	08
For one Ox —— ---	00	11	06
For a new Plow, ----	00	00	10
For XI Bushel of Sowing-Wheat (the Quarter near 4*s*. 4*d*. ¾.) ---- ----	00	05	10½
For XVIII Bush. of Sowing-Oats, (the Quart. at 2 *s*.) ——	00	04	06
For a Dung-Cart, and all that belong'd to it, ——	00	01	02
For a Pair of Cart-wheels, —	00	03	02
For *R. P.* working XII Days (3 *d. per* Day) —— —	00	03	00
For *J. B.* working one Day	00	00	03
For a Calf —— —	00	01	07
In 1416, Wheat very dear, the Quarter at *(Fabian)* ——	00	16	00

In

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1423, Wheat cheap, the Quarter at *(Fabian)* —— ——	00	08	00
Malt, at —— —	00	05	00
Wheat at 8 *s.* the Quarter, was not, for those Times, *cheap*; but it was cheap, with respect to some dear Years foregoing.			
A Ram, at —— —	00	00	08
A Cheese, at ——	00	00	04
From such Articles as this last foregoing one, where neither *Weight* nor *Goodness* is expressed, nothing can be concluded.			
In 1425, in another *Computus* of the *Prior* and a *Canon* of *Burcester Oxf.* in Dr. *Kennet*'s *Par. Ant.*			
For a Colt sold, —— —	00	08	00
For X Quarter of Pease, (each Quarter at 2 *s.* 2 *d.*) at — —	01	01	08
For XVIII Quarters and 2 Bush. of Pease (about 3 *d.* $\frac{1}{8}$ *per* Bush.) at —— ——	01	17	07
For V Ox-Hides ——	00	12	00
For II Cow-Hides ——	00	02	07
For III Cow-Hides ——	00	04	08
For XVI Calves-Skins ——	00	02	00
For XXI Lambs—— ——	00	04	00
For XXXVI Sheep-Skins, of 2 Years old —— ——	00	09	00
For XXIII Tod of pure Wooll (at 9 *s.* 6 *d.* the Tod) ——	10	18	06

For

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For XIX Ells of Cloth for Napkins —— ——	00	05	00
For CXXXII Flaggons and an half of Ale, at ——	00	04	10

I have obſerv'd before, that *Lagena*, (a Flaggon) holds 4 Quarts. Now an 132 Flaggons muſt, at that Rate make 528 Quarts, for which there was paid but 58 Pence: which will bring it to 9 Quarts a Penny, and 6 will remain beſides. Now this cannot be allowed; there is therefore a Miſtake either in ſetting down the Number of the Flaggons, or of the Money paid for them. And ſuch Miſtakes are very eaſy. A Flaggon of Ale, or a Gallon, was (at or near this time) valued at 1 *d.* or 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, or 1 *d.* $\frac{1}{2}$. And if you compute at this laſt Rate, and reckon XV *s.* for IV, it will come pretty near the Matter.

For XXXII Flaggons of Red Wine, at 8 *d.* the Flaggon, —	01	01	04
For III Flaggons and III Quarts of Sweet Wine, at 1 *s.* 4 *d.* the Flaggon —— ——	00	05	00

This is a manifeſt Proof, that *Lagena* holds 4 Quarts; for if it had held 3, there had been 4

	l.	s.	d.
Lagenæ; if it held 2, there had been 4 *Lagenæ* and 1 Quart. A Quart came to 4 *d.*			
To *W. H.* a Stone-cutter, for 4 Days work (4 *d.* the Day) —	00	01	04
To *J. C.* and 2 Servants, Tyling for 4 Days (between 3 *d.* and 4 *d.*) — — —	00	03	04
To two Sawyers working X Days (4 *d.* the Day) —	00	06	08
For XX Pullets —	00	01	08
For a Quarter of an Ox to ſalt	00	01	04
For a Cade of Red Herrings (720 the Cade) —	00	08	00
For a Frail of Figs —	00	03	04
For 12 Pound of Raiſins —	00	01	01
For a great Fleſh-Ax —	00	01	04
For 2 Yards of Ruſſet Cloth for the Shepherd — —	00	02	02
For 4 Quarters of Wheat to be malted, ('tis *pro 4 quarteriis Frumenti pro Braſio faciendo*)	00	16	00
each Quarter at — —	00	04	00
For a Bay-Horſe, for the Prior's Stable — —	01	06	08
For 2 Colts — —	00	09	00
For 30 Pair of Autumnal (Winter) Gloves for the Servants — — —	00	04	00
To the Baker's Servant for X Days — —	00	01	00
For threſhing a Quarter of Wheat — —	00	00	03½

For

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For 8 Woodcocks, for a Present —— —— ——	00	01	00
For XII Pair of Gloves to the Bp. of *Worceſter*'s Servants——	00	05	00
For one Man plowing and harrowing 12 Days —— ——	00	01	00
Vaccæ Pretium, (Maddox Formul. p. 144.) at —— ——	00	08	00
In 1426, V Oxen, each apprais'd at —— —— ——	00	03	04
VI Cows, each at —— ——	00	02	08
III Horſes, each at —— ——	00	03	00
Sir *H. Spelman, Gloſſary V. Graile.*			
In 1434, the Autumn was ſo wet, that for almoſt two Years following, in many Places of the Kingdom, Wheat was ſold, the Quarter, at —— ——	01	06	08
And yet at the End of the Year following it came again to *(Hiſt. Croyland Continuatio)* 5*s.* 4*d.* therefore ſeems to have been the uſual common Price of a Quarter, about that time.	00	05	04
In 1439, *Stow* ſays, there was ſuch Scarcity, that Wheat was ſold at 1*l.* the Quarter. *Fabian*, at—— —— ——	01	06	08
In 1440, The Scarcity continued, Wheat was, the Quarter, at —— —— ——	01	04	00
Malt, the Quarter, at ——	00	13	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	05	04
Wine, by the Gallon ——	00	01	00
Bay Salt, by the Buſhel——	00	01	00

If I am not misinformed, the Statutes of a *College*, that was founded much about the ſame Time with yours, ſay, that the weekly Allowance, for every *Fellow*, *Chaplain*, and *Scholar*, ſhall be 1 *s.* 4 *d.* and in Times of Scarcity, 1 *s.* 5 *d.* and 1 *s.* 6 *d.* But if Corn ſhould be (and continue for 20 Days) above 2 *s.* the Buſhel, then their Allowance ſhall be 1 *s.* 8 *d.* the Week, and no farther. Wheat therefore at XVI *s.* the Quarter, muſt be accounted exceedingly dear. And yet in *An.* 1440, it was, at the loweſt reckoning of Mr. *Stow*, at 20 *s.* the Quarter. But, indeed, from that Year, to 1460, I have never found Wheat at above 8 *s.* the Quarter, and therefore 2 *s.* the Buſhel might well be accounted a very high Price. And here, if it would avail me any thing, I might juſtly bemoan our want of Hiſtory for theſe laſt 250 Years, and upwards, (I mean of Latin Writers) there having been very few, that

have

have transmitted any thing (as of their own knowledge) of the Reigns of *H.* IV, V, VI, *Ed.* IV, V, *Rich.* III. except what Sir *Thomas More* has left us of the two last. But, as to the Purpose in Hand, I have had the good Fortune to meet with the *Computus*'s of 9 or 10 Years, that will exactly fit you, in this Inquiry, and they are of very great Credit, and shall go under the Name of *E. C.* but I will first give you an Account of the Price of Things, which I received from a private, but a very creditable hand, of the Year 1444.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For an 100 Quarters of Wheat 21 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each Quarter at	00	04	04
For 2 Bushels of Wheat, (I suppose for Seed) —— ——	00	01	00
For 2 Bushels of Pease (for Seed also) —— —— —	00	01	00
For 5 Quarters of Pease, 15 *s.* each Quarter at —— — —	00	03	00
For 50 Quarter of Malt, 10 *l.* each Quarter at —— ——	00	04	00
For 6 Calves, 12 *s.* each Calf at —— —— —— —	00	02	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For 8 Porkers, 1 *l.* 4 *s.* each at —— —— —— —— —— besides (*i. e.* without) the Head.	00	03	00
For 40 Geese, 10 *s.* each Goose at —— —— ——	00	00	03
For 31 Dozen of Pigeons, 10 *s.* 8 *d.* each Dozen at about	00	00	04½
For 15 Doz. of Pigeons, 7 *s.* 6 *d.* each Doz. at—— ——	00	00	06
For 100 Dozen of Pidgeons, each Doz. at —— —— ——	00	00	05½
For an Ox —— ——	01	11	08
For 8 Cignets, or young Swans, each —— ——	00	03	00
For a Flitch of Bacon ——	00	01	08
For 4 Oxen (young I suppose, and lean) 52 *s.* each at——	00	13	00
For 26 Warp of Ling——	01	10	04
For 100 Stock-Fish ——	00	17	06
For a Barrel of Herrings, (*i. e.* 30 Gallons fully packed)——	01	00	00
For 2 Plough-Oxen ——	01	03	00
For a Quarter of Oats——	00	01	08
For three Bushel of Green Pease (for Seed) —— ——	00	02	03

At this Time it appears that Master Traders wrought by the Day at 3 *d.* and their Labourers or Servants at 1 *d.* But then, I believe, they had their Meat and Drink. The yearly Wages were, some 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* others 1 *l.* For this, see hereafter, *Chap.* 5.

In

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1445, VII Quarter and an half of Wheat came to XXX *s.* which is, each Quarter, at —	00	04	06
Oats, by the Quarter, at —	00	02	00
XII Flaggons, or Gallons of Ale I *s.* VI *d.* each Gallon at —	00	00	01½
Hay, by the Load———	00	03	06½
For 3000 Red Herrings ——	01	11	00
XXIV Bullocks and Heifers, VI *l.* each Head at—— ——	00	05	00
Cloth for Surplices for Scholars, the Ell, at—— —— ——	00	00	08
And, that you may not think this Cloth to be very coarſe, I aſſure you it was the ſame with the *Napkins* uſed at the *Altar*; and that, if you know the Religion of thoſe Days, was certainly fine. *E. C.*			
In 1447, Wheat, by the Quarter, *E. C.* —— —	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	02	01½
In 1448, Wheat, by the Quarter —— ——	00	06	08
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	02	00
A Cade of Red Herrings —	00	05	08
A Barrel of White Herrings, *E. C.* —— —— ——	00	09	03
In 1449, Wheat, by the Quarter, *E. C.* — — —	00	05	00
Cade of Red Herrings ——	00	06	00
Barrel of White Herrings —	00	10	03

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
XV Sheep, at I *l.* XVI *s.* X *d.* each Sheep at (within ½.) ——	00	02	05½
VII Hogs, at XIII *s.* VIII *d.* each Hog at (within ½.) ——	00	01	11½
In 1450, Oats, the Quarter	00	01	10
Beans, the Quarter ——	00	02	06
In 1451, Wheat, by the Quarter, at —— —— --	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	10	10¼
XXVI Gallons of Ale, (here the Word *Galo* is used for *Lagena)* 3 *s.* each Gallon at ——	00	00	01½
Beans, the Quarter —— —	00	03	04
For a Cade of Red Herrings	00	07	04
For a Barrel of White Herrings, *E. C.* —— —— —	00	13	07
In 1453, Wheat, by the Quarter —— —— ——	00	05	04
Ale, *per* Gallon —— —	00	00	01¼
Cade of Red Herrings ——	00	07	06
Fourscore White Herrings, *E. C.*—— —— —— —	00	01	00
In 1454, Oats, by the Quarter—— —— —— ——	00	01	10½
In 1455, Wheat very cheap, the Quarter at —— ——	00	01	02
Malt, the Quarter (Mr. *Stow)* at —— —— —— —	00	01	05
In 1457, Wheat by the Quart.	00	07	08
Oats, the Quarter —— —	00	01	09¼
A Gallon of Ale —— —	00	00	01
A Cade of Red Herrings, at	00	06	08
92 White Herrings, *E. C.*—	00	01	00

In

In 51 *H.* III. it was determined by *Authority*, that when a Quarter of Barley was sold at 2 *s.* then *Ale* might be afforded 4 Quarts for 1 *d.* And when Barley was at 2 *s.* 6 *d.* the Quarter, then Ale was to be 7 Quarts for 2 *d.* and so to increase and decrease, after the Rate of 6 *d.* the Quarter. But no Rules can always hold for Trade: as you may see, by comparing the Price of Barley and Ale, in these and other Accompts.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1459, Wheat, by the Quarter —— —— ——	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter —— ——	00	08	10
A Gallon of Ale, at ——	00	00	01
A Cade of Red Herrings, at	00	07	10⅔
92 White Herrings, at *E. C.*	00	01	00
In 1460, Wheat the Quarter, at —— —— ——	00	08	00
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	02	00
A Gallon of Ale, at ——	00	00	01
Cade of Herrings, at——	00	07	00
192 White Herrings, at, *E. C.* —— —— ——	00	02	00

Here my private Guide, for a while, leaves me; but not before it has made my Observation good, that from 1440, to 1460 (the Time you inquire after) Wheat was never above 8 *s.* the

Quarter,

Quarter, notwithstanding the Sword was drawn betwixt the Houses of *York*, and *Lancaster*, which usually cuts down Corn, as well as Men.			
In 1463, It was enacted in Parliament, that no Corn should be imported, if Wheat were not above 6*s.* 8*d.* Rye 4*s.* Barley 3*s.* the Quarter; which signifies those Prices to be high.			
In 1463, At *London*, Wheat	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
was, by the Quarter ——	00	02	00
Barley, the Quarter ——	00	01	10
Pease, the Quarter ——	00	03	04
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	01	02
At *Norfolk* the same Year,			
Wheat, the Quarter — —	00	01	08
Barley — — —	00	01	00
Malt —— ——	00	01	08
Oats, Mr. *Stow* ——	00	01	00
In 1464, White Wheat was sold by the Quarter (Sir *R. Cotton*'s Records) —— —	00	06	08
In 1475, Oats, the Quarter, at —— —— —	00	01	10
Load of Hay, at ——	00	06	08
This is from a *private Computus*, *P. C.*			
In 1486, Wheat, very dear; and Bay-Salt the same Price. *Fabian.*—— —— ——	01	04	00

In

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1489, Oats, the Quarter, *P. C.* —— —— ——	00	02	00
In 1491, Wheat, the Quarter, *Fabian* —— ——	00	14	08
In 1493, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
Beans, *P. C.* —— ——	00	03	04
In 1494, Wheat (cheap and Bay-Salt the same) *Fabian*——	00	04	00
In 1495, Wheat, *Fabian* —	00	03	04
White Herrings, the Barrel, *Fabian* —— ——	00	03	04
In 1497, Wheat (very dear) *Fabian* — —— —— —	01	00	00
Oats, the Quarter, *P. C.* —	00	02	00
In 1498, Load of Hay, *P. C.*	00	08	02
Mr. *Stow* says Hay was usually at 5 *s.* but now it was 10 *s.* or 12 *s.*			
In 1499, Wheat, *per* Quart.	00	04	00
Bay-Salt, the Quarter ——	00	02	08
A Tun of Gascoign Wine, at, Mr. *Stow* —— —	02	00	00

It is not for want of Pains, that you have no fuller Accounts of these foregoing 40 Years; for, I think, few publick Books have escaped my Diligence; and my private Ones have proved as barren. And so it will be for the 40 Years and more that follow; our *Chroniclers* wanted the Care and Observation of their Predecessors; and setting up for

Politicians,

Politicians, quite neglected (as they thought them) leſſer Matters. And, by a ſtrange Fortune I have read the *Computus*'s, or Accompts, of a *Publick Body*, where there was always good Houſe-keeping, and have not yet been able, for the Space of 40 Years, to find what Price a Quarter of Wheat bore, tho' they ſpent a great many every Month. Your College-Books may ſupply theſe Wants, if you will now and then relax from Studies of more Attention, to inſpect theſe lighter Matters, which will not make you a leſs uſeful Member of your Society.

In 1504. *Antiq. Canterb. Appendix*, p. 27. Wheat, the Quarter, at —— —— | *l.* 00 | *s.* 05 | *d.* 08
Red Wine, *per Dolium* —— | 04 | 00 | 00
Claret Wine, *per Dolium* — | 03 | 13 | 04
White Wine, elect —— | 03 | 06 | 08
Malveſy, a Butt —— | 04 | 00 | 00
Ale of *London*, per *Dol.* — | 01 | 10 | 00
Ale of *Canterbury* per *Dol.*— | 01 | 05 | 00
Beer, *per Dol.* —— — | 01 | 03 | 04

Dolium, I believe, does here ſignify a *Pipe*, or *Butt*, which contains an 126 Gallons. So that the Ale of *London* comes to

very

	l.	s.	d.
very near 3 *d.* the Gallon. The Red Wine at 7 *d.* ½.			
In 1505, A Load of Hay, at	00	06	00
Oats, by the Quarter, at—	00	03	00
In 1506, Oats, by the Quarter, at —— ——	00	02	00
Beans, the Quarter, at ——	00	03	08
In 1507, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
Beans, the Quarter — —	00	03	06
A Hogshead of Red Wine	01	06	08
In 1508, Oats, the Quarter	00	01	10
In 1510, Oats —— —	00	02	00
Load of Hay —— —	00	09	00
In 1511, Load of Hay ——	00	05	00
Beans, the Quarter, at ——	00	03	04
Oats —— —— ——	00	02	00
In 1512, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	00
Beans — — — —	00	04	00
In 1513, Oats — — —	00	02	04
In 1515, Beans, *P. C.* ——	00	04	02
In 1521, A Dearth. Wheat was by the Quarter (Mr *Stow*)	01	00	00
In 1526, Oats, the Quarter	00	03	00
Beans, at — — —	00	04	02
In 1530, Oats, the Quarter	00	04	00
Beans, the Quarter — --	00	05	04
In 1532, Oats, the Quarter	00	02	08 ¼
Beans —— —— —	00	05	04
In 1533, it will not be amiss, to insert a little Piece of History, out of honest Mr. *Stow*, to our present Purpose, under this present Year.			

'It was this Year enacted, 'That Butchers ſhould ſell their 'Beef, and Mutton, *by Weight:* 'Beef for a *Half-Penny* the 'Pound, and Mutton for *Three* 'Farthings: Which being de-'viſed for the great Commodity 'of the Realm (as it was thought) 'hath proved far otherwiſe. 'For at that time, *(i. e.* 1533.) 'fat *Oxen* were ſold for XXVI *s.* 'VIII *d.* fat *Weathers* for III *s.* 'IV *d.* fat *Calves* of the like 'Price. A fat *Lamb* for XII *d.* 'The Butchers of *London* ſold 'Penny Pieces of Beef, for the 'Relief of the Poor; every 'Piece two Pound and an half: 'ſometimes 3 Pound for a Pen-'ny. And 13, ſometimes 14 'of theſe Pieces for XII *d.* Mut-'ton VIII *d.* the Quarter. And 'an 100 Weight of Beef for 'IV *s.* VIII *d.* What Price it 'hath grown to ſince, it need-'eth not to be ſet down. At 'this Time alſo, and not before, 'were foreign Butchers permit-'ted to ſell their Fleſh in *Lea-'den-Hall* Market of *London.*

I ſuppoſe by *Foreign* Butchers, he means ſuch as lived not, or

had

	l.	s.	d.
had not ſerved their Apprentice-ſhip, in *London*.			
In 1535, Oats, by the Quarter, at —— —— ——	00	02	08
In 1537, Oats the Quarter	00	03	04
Beans, the Quarter — —	00	06	00
In 1543, Oats — — —	00	03	04
Beans — — — —	00	06	08
In 1551, Wheat, by the Quarter — — — —	00	08	00
Malt, at — — — —	00	05	01
Two Quarts of Malmſey —	00	00	08
Oats the Quarter — —	00	08	00
A Load of Straw — —	00	05	00
A Load of Coals ——	00	12	00
Whenever you meet with *Coals*, in old Accounts, you are to underſtand thereby *Charcoal*, not *Seacoal*; which has not been in common (as well as I can gueſs) 150 Years; at leaſt not in *London:* Tho' I find them, in *M. Paris* under the Name of *Carbo Marinus*, in the Time of *H.* III. in Additament.			
In 1552, Barley, the Quart.	00	05	00
In 1553, Wheat — —	00	08	00
Malt —— ——	00	05	00
A Tun of Wine ——	05	00	00
Muſcadel the Quart, at——	00	00	06
Malveſy, the Quart ——	00	00	05
Red Wine the Quart ——	00	00	03

In

	l.	s.	d.
In 1554, Wheat the Quarter, at —— —— —	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter, at ——	00	06	08
Malt, at —— ——	00	05	00
In 1555, Wheat, the Quarter, at —— —— —	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter, at ——	00	16	00
Malt the Quarter, at —	00	05	00
In 1556, Wheat, the Quart.	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter ——	00	05	00
Beans, the Quarter — —	00	06	08
In 1557, Wheat, the Quart.	00	08	00
Rye, the Quarter — —	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter — —	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter ——	00	10	00
For threshing a Quarter of Wheat —— ——	00	01	01
For threshing a Quarter of Rye —— ——	00	00	10
For threshing a Quarter of Barley —— ——	00	00	05
Mr. *Stow*, says that in this Year, before Harvest, Wheat was, *per* Quarter —— —	02	13	04
Malt, *per* Quarter ——	02	04	00
Beans and Rye, *per* Quarter	02	00	00
Peafe, *per* Quarter ——	02	06	08
But after Harvest, Wheat was at *London*, *per* Quarter ——	00	05	00
Malt, *per* Quarter ——	00	06	08
Rye, *per* Quarter ——	00	03	04

	l.	s.	d.
But in the Country Wheat was, *per* Quarter	00	04	00
Malt, *per* Quarter	00	04	08
Rye	00	02	08
So that a Penny-Wheat-Loaf, which before Harveſt was 11 Ounces, was after Harveſt 56 Ounces. My *Private Computus* takes no Notice of theſe *Advances* and *Falls*, to which I return, and ſhall only inſert, now and then, what Mr. *Stow* ſays.			
In 1558, Wheat the Quarter	00	08	00
Rye	00	08	00
Barley	00	05	00
A good Sheep	00	02	10
In 1559, Wheat	00	08	00
Rye	00	08	00
In 1560, Wheat	00	08	00
Rye	00	08	00
Barley, at	00	05	02
For a Load of old Hay	00	12	06
For a Load of (I ſuppoſe New) Hay	00	06	08
Oats, the Quarter	00	05	00
In 1561, Wheat the Quarter	00	08	00
Rye	00	08	00
Malt, the Quarter	00	05	00
Oats, the Quarter	00	05	00
In 1562, Wheat	00	08	00
Barley	00	05	00
For a Load of Hay	00	13	04
For a Load of Straw	00	06	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
For a Hogshead of Claret-Wine ———————	02	10	00
In 1563, Rye, the Quarter	00	13	04
Oats, the Quarter———————	00	05	00

I would not have been weary of transcribing such Accounts as these, if I had judged the Knowledge of them any thing to your Purpose; but I perceive the Way was now, and had been so for some Years before, as well as many that follow, to settle the Price of Corn betwixt the *Landlord* and *Tenant*, without Regard to what it *truly* was. *Wheat* was generally fix'd to 8 *s.* the Quarter, and *Malt* and *Oats* at 5. But finding it so for 20, 30, or 40 Years together, you may reasonably conclude, That was not the true Market-Price, because it is not in the nature of the Thing possible, that Corn should be so long at the same stand. But yet if you take Things for 20 Years together, 'tis likely that such a Price might be equal enough, betwixt the Landlord and the Tenant, and therefore well agreed upon. When, therefore, I have given you an Observation or two, of Mr. *Stow*'s, relating

	l.	s.	d.
to the Publick, I will ſhut up this long Chapter, with an Account of the Price of Corn for theſe laſt 60 Years, ſuch as was indeed the *real* Price, and not of *Compoſition* or Agreement; of which you are to make the beſt Uſe you can, in order to the Satisfaction you require.			
In 1574, Such a Dearth at *London*, that Wheat was, the Quarter, at ———	02	16	00
Beef (at *Lammas*) ſo dear, that a Stone came to ———	00	01	10
And 5 Herrings (ſo dear) ——	00	00	02
Bay Salt (never ſo dear) the Buſhel ſold at ———	00	06	00
After Harveſt Wheat was the Quarter ——— and ſo continued about a Year.	01	04	00
In 1587, Wheat was, at *London*, by the Quarter,—— and in other Places at 10 *s.* 12 *s.* and 13 *s.* the Buſhel. This was occaſioned by exceſſive Tranſportation.	03	04	00
In 1594, Wheat, the Quarter, at ———	02	16	00
Rye ———	02	00	00
In 1595, Wheat (by much Tranſportation) the Quarter, at	02	13	04
A Hen's Egg, at ———	00	00	01
Or, at beſt, 3 Eggs for ——	00	00	02

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
A Pound of ſweet Butter —	00	00	07
Our Sins (as Mr. *Stow* ſays) deſerving it.			
In 1596, Wheat (by reaſon of great Rains) the Quarter, at	04	00	00
Rye —— ——	02	08	00
Oat-meal, by the Buſhel —	00	08	00
In 1597, Wheat fell from 5 *l.* 4 *s.* the Quarter, to———	04	00	00
Rye, from 9 *s.* the Buſhel to 6 *s.* and then to 3 *s.* 2 *d.* and then roſe again to the greateſt Price. Biſhop *Goodwin* in his *Annals*, 1557, ſays, that in this Year, 1597, Wheat was 13 *s.* 4 *d.* the Buſhel			
In 1598, Pepper ſo dear as that a Pound was ſold at———	00	08	00
Raiſins, at————	00	00	06
Gaſcoign Wine, the Gallon, at ————	00	02	08
Sweet-Wine, the Gallon, at	00	04	00

Now follows the Account, I promised you, of the true Market-Price of *Wheat*, and *Malt*, for 60 Years last past.

Years.	*Wheat*, Qu^{r}.	*Malt*, Qu^{r}.
1646	02 08 00	01 09 00
47	03 13 08	01 17 00
48	04 05 00	02 00 00
49	04 00 00	02 02 00
1650	03 16 08	01 18 06
51	03 13 04	01 09 00
52	02 09 06	01 08 00
53	01 15 06	01 08 00
54	01 06 00	01 00 08
55	01 13 04	01 00 00
56	02 03 00	01 04 00
57	02 06 08	01 08 04
58	03 05 00	01 09 04
59	03 06 00	02 08 08

Years.	*Wheat*, Qu^{r}.			*Malt*, Qu^{r}.		
1660	02	16	06	01	12	08
61	03	10	00	01	13	04
62	03	14	00	02	02	00
63	02	17	00	01	12	08
64	02	00	06	01	10	00
65	02	09	04	01	08	04
66	01	16	00	01	06	00
67	01	16	00	01	02	08
68	02	00	00	01	04	00
69	02	04	04	01	07	04
1670	02	01	08	01	06	06
71	02	02	00	01	05	04
72	02	01	00	01	02	00
73	02	06	08	01	04	00
74	03	08	08	01	14	00
75	03	04	08	01	14	00
76	01	18	00	01	06	00

Years.	*Wheat*, Qu^{r}.			*Malt*, Qu^{r}.		
1677	02	02	00	01	08	00
78	02	19	00	01	08	08
79	03	00	00	01	06	08
1680	02	05	00	01	02	08
81	02	06	08	01	04	08
82	02	04	00	01	08	00
83	02	00	00	01	08	08
84	02	04	00	01	05	04
85	02	06	08	01	08	00
86	01	14	00	01	05	04
87	01	05	02	01	04	00
88	02	06	00	01	02	00
89	01	10	00	01	00	00
1690	01	14	08	00	19	04
91	01	14	00	00	17	04
92	02	06	08	01	04	04
93	03	07	08	01	10	00

Years.	*Wheat*, Qu^{r}.			*Malt*, Qu^{r}.		
1694	03	04	00	01	12	00
95	02	13	00	01	12	00
96	03	11	00	01	08	00
97	03	00	00	01	08	00
98	03	08	04	01	12	00
99	03	04	00	01	19	04
1700	02	00	00	01	11	04
1701	01	17	08	01	04	00
1702	01	09	06	01	08	00
1703	01	16	00	01	03	04
1704	02	06	06	01	08	00
1705	01	10	00	01	06	00

In this Computation, you are to know, that in every Year there are two Prices of Corn, the one of *Lady-Day*, the other of *Michaelmas*; both which I put together, and take the half, for the common Price of that whole Year. Of the first 20 Years of these last 60, the common Price of Wheat was 2 *l.* 17 *s.* 5 *d.* ¼, the Quarter.

Malt was 1 *l.* 12 *s.* 0 *d.* ¾, the Quarter.

The common Price of the second Score of Years was,

Wheat at 2 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* ¾, the Quarter.

Malt at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 3 *d.* ¾, the Quarter.

The common Price for these last 20 Years past was,

Wheat at 2 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.* ¾, the Quarter.

Malt at 1 *l.* 5 *s.* 5 *d.* ¼, the Quarter.

From whence it appears, that, one Year with another, for these last sixty, Wheat has been, the Quarter, at — —

l.	*s.*	*d.*
02	09	10½

And

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
And Malt (abating the Fractions) at —— —— ——	01	07	07 ¼

Which is, 6 *s.* 2 *d. ob. q.* the Bushel of Wheat, and 3 *s.* 5 *d. q.* the Bushel of Malt, and somewhat above.

Though I ought to acquaint the Reader, that the Market I have computed by, is somewhat higher than those at a very great distance from *London*; in which, if we allow Wheat to have been at 40 *s.* and Malt at 24 *s.* the Quarter, we shall come nearer to the Truth, in general.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of Stipends, Salaries, Wages, Jointures, Portions, Day-labour, &c.

IN the *Council* held at *Oxford*, 1222, it was decreed, That where the Churches had no greater Revenues than V *Marks per An.* they ſhould be conferred on none, but ſuch as ſhould conſtantly reſide in Perſon, on the Place. *Spelman, Conc. Angl. Tom.* 2.

A ſingle Prieſt might therefore ſubſiſt on V *Marks*, but he could not afford to keep a *Curate*.

Accordingly *Ste. Langton*, A. B. *Cant.* in the ſame Year decrees, That the *Perpetual Vicar* ſhall have V *Marks* aſſign'd him, *i. e.* as much as may be farmed out for V *Marks:* Except in *Wales*, where by reaſon of the Smallneſs of the *Livings* (and Plenty, I ſuppoſe, of Proviſions) the Vicars are contented with leſs Stipends. *Ibid.*

In 1287, *Peter Quivil*, B. of *Exon*, *in Synodo Exonienſi*, decrees, That in every *Parochial* Church, the *Perpetual Vicarage* ſhould be endowed with, at leaſt, V *Marks per An.* that he may, in ſome Meaſure, keep Hoſpitality; and in caſe he grow old, ſickly, or impotent, may be thereby ſuſtained. This muſt be done, if the Living be really worth XL *Marks per An.*

But

But if it be of better Value, the Vicar's Portion must be increased.

And as for a *Curate* (whom he here calls *(a) Parochialis Sacerdos)* he decrees the *Rector* shall pay him 40 *s. per An.* for his Stipend: and says, if the Rectors think themselves aggrieved by this, they may do their Work themselves, and save that Money. He also mentions *Sacerdotes Auxiliarii*, *(b)* and decrees, that they shall have 50 *s. per An.* at least; and if they have agreed for less, *(c)* such Agreement to be void. *Concil. Ang.*

(a) I should have thought, that *Sacerdos* (join'd especially with *Parochialis)* should have signified a *Parish-Priest*, *Rector*, or *Vicar*, as distinguish'd from his *Capellanus*, or *Curate*; but he seems to be here, a mere Stipendiary *Curate*, and removeable, whenever the *Rector* will do his Business himself. *(b)* Why an *Auxiliary*, or Assistant Priest, should have 50 *s. per An.* when the *Curate* had but 40, I cannot see: But there is very good Reason, why such under-hand Bargains *(c)* should be made void, which were so much to the Prejudice of poor Curates. And therefore (before this *Constitution)* in 1253, among the *Articles of Inquiry*, for all the Dioceses of *England*, one was, Whether any *Rectors* had made a Bargain with their *Curates*, that besides the Stipends they received from the *Rectors*, they might receive from others *Annualia & Tricennalia*; because this permitting of the Curate to be a *Mass Priest*, and to perform *Annualia*

&

& Tricennalia, was to save the Rector from giving so fair and reasonable a Stipend, as he ought. *Annal. Burton*, in 1253. *Note*, That *Annualia* were such Oblations, as were made by the Relations of the Deceased, upon the Day the Party died, *every Year:* which Day, our Fathers called the *Year's-Day*, or *Year's-Mind*, and, upon it, *Mass* was celebrated with great Solemnity, by one of the most considerable Clergymen, that could be procured, according to the Quality of the Deceased. *Tricennalia* were called *Trentals*, from *Trigintalia*, and in English, a *Month's-Mind*, because the Service lasted a Month, or 30 Days, in which they said so many Masses. As M. *Du Fresne* observes on the Word *Tricenarium*, *Officium XXX Missarum, quod totidem diebus peragitur, pro Defunctis, vel Obventiones quæ obveniunt Sacerdotibus, ratione ejusdem Officii.*

In 1289, *Gilb. Ciceſtr.* decrees, The Curates, in poor Churches, must have V *Marks*, for their Stipend; in richer Churches, they must have more.

In 1306, *W. Grenefeld*, A. B. *Ebor.* decrees the same thing. *Concil. Ang.*

In 1308, *Rob. de Winchelsea*, A. B. *Cant.* decrees, That no Curate shall serve under V *Marks per An. Idem, ibid.*

In 1348, *H. Knyghton* says, that the great Pestilence had swept away so many Priests, among other People, that a *Chaplain* could hardly be gotten to serve a Church, under X *Marks*, or X *Pounds per An.* whereas before, they

they might be had at V, or IV *Marks*, nay at II, together with their Diet: and Men would hardly accept of a *Vicarage* of 20 *Marks* or 20*l. per An.* pag. 2600. This, I ſuppoſe, was, becauſe *Vicars* were thought to be obliged to ſtricter Reſidence, which, in Peſtilential Seaſons, was, doubtleſs, hazardous.

In 1360, *J. Thoresby*, A. B. *York*, decrees the ſame thing with his Predeceſſor *Grenefeld* in 1306, *Concil. Ang.* V. 2.

In 1362, *Simon Iſelip*, A. B. *Cant.* decrees, That Chaplains *Annualia celebrantes*, and having *no Cure of Souls*, ſhall be content with V *Marks per An.* and they who have *Cure of Souls*, with VI *Marks*, unleſs the Dioceſan, for good Cauſe, ſhall order more. But Mr. *Stow* obſerves upon it, that it occaſion'd many of them to turn Robbers, *p.* 265.

The ſame A. B. the Month after, complains that the Prieſts grew wanton, and were not content with reaſonable Stipends, for ſerving *Pariſh Cures*; but went about, rather chuſing to ſay *Maſſes*, for the Living and the Dead, and get what they could that way, than fix in any certain Place: and therefore orders and appoints the ſame Salaries above-named; and if any One took any more, under any Pretence whatever, they ſhould be puniſhed. *Concil. Ang.* This had been highly unreaſonable, unleſs V or VI *Marks* had been, at that Time, thought a ſufficient Maintenance for a ſingle Perſon. And ſo accordingly, about that Time, we find it was the uſual Salary.

In

In 1371, *In Stipendiis unius Capellani*, 2 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* *Burton Ant. Leiceſt.* 87.

In 1378, *Simon Sudbury*, A. B. *Cant.* repeats the Decrees of his Predeceſſor *Simon Iſelip*, and makes the ſame Complaints. And decrees, That every ſuch unfix'd *Maſs-Prieſt* ſhould content himſelf with VII *Marks per An.* either all in Money; or with Diet and III *Marks* in Money. And he that takes a *Cure*, to content himſelf with VIII *Marks*, or with IV. *Marks* and his Diet. And all this, under Pain of Excommunication. *Concil. Angl.*

This Matter ſeem'd to be of ſuch Importance, that the Parliament, in 39 *E.* III. made Rules about it, in theſe Terms, *c.* 8. 'If any 'Secular Man in the Realm pay any more 'than V *Marks*, to any Prieſt yearly, in Money, or in other Things, to the Value; or 'if he pay to ſuch Prieſt retained to abide at 'his Table, above two Marks for his Gown, 'and his other Neceſſaries, (his Table accounted 'to 40 Shillings) and thereof be attainted, He 'ſhall pay to the King fully as much as he 'paid to the ſaid Prieſt.' And this was renewed in 1414, 2 *H.* V. *St.* 2. *c.* 2. in the following Manner:

'No yearly Chaplain, within the Realm, 'ſhall take, from henceforth, more for his 'whole Wages, by Year (that is to ſay, 'for his Board, Apparel, and other Neceſſa-'ries) but VII *Marks*. Nor the Pariſh-Prieſts 'which be, or ſhall be retain'd to ſerve Cures, 'ſhall take, from henceforth, for their whole

'Wages,

'Wages, by Year (that is to say, for the 'Things aforesaid) but VIII *Marks:* unless it 'be by License of the Ordinary. So that the 'whole Sum pass not IX *Marks.*' And in 27 *H.* VI. a Pardon was passed for such Priests as had offended against these *Acts.*

In 1421, *H. Chichely*, A. B. *Cant.* at the very importunate Instance of his Clergy in *Convocation*, does, with the Consent and Advice of his Suffragans, confirm and ratify the Decree of his Predecessor, *S. Sudbury*, in 1378, repeating the very Words of it. *Idem, ibid.*

And in 1439, (which is very near to the Time you are inquiring after) the same A. B. *Chichely*, in *Convocation* also, decrees, That Vicarages shall be augmented (by the Rectors, or Appropriators) to XII *Marks per An.* if the whole Benefice be worth so much, to support the Burthens incident to Vicarages. *Id. ibid.*

Vicarages were at first free from all Incumbrances and Burthens; but by the Artifice of the *Monks*, and *Religious*, the Favour they found at *Rome*, the Compliance of the *Bishops*, and by other Means, they came, by degrees, to bear almost equal Charges with the *Rectors*, though much less able to do it. And therefore, though it was very well, and wisely done by this Archbishop to augment Vicarages to XII *Marks*, yet considering the Charges and Burthens incident to Vicarages, they were not much advantaged by it; for a *Vicarage* of XII *Marks*, with its Burthens, may not

not be so good as a Curacy with VII or VIII *Marks*, without Incumbrance.

And therefore, even in 1439, (which is very near to the Time of the Foundation of your *College)* a single Man was thought to be provided for, by a Stipend of VIII *Marks*, which is but VI *s.* VIII *d.* above the Sum you are inquiring about. You may therefore very reasonably conclude, that, about that Time, a single Man might live cleanly and decently, with good Management, with V *l. per. An.* because it is not to be presumed, that an *Archbishop*, at the Head of his Clergy, and at their Request too, should decree such an Allowance for officiating Clergymen, as would not keep them (if virtuous Men and sober) decently and cleanly.

Let us see also, a little, to the Allowance of *Chantry Priests*, and such like.

In 1237, *H.* III. gives VIII *l.* out of the Exchequer for 3 Chaplains, to do Duty daily in the *Temple-Church*, *London*, which is IV *Marks per Ann.* each. In *Monasticon Anglican.* V. 2. p. 521.

In 1242, *Alexander* B. *Cov.* and *Lichf.* erected an Office of Chanter in that Church, and allowed for his Salary VI *l.* X *s.* *Ang. Sac.* P. I. p. 446.

In 1313, *E.* II. ordained and commanded, that his Chapel of St. *Edward*, in *the Castle* of *Windsor*, should be kept and served in the Manner following:

1. To the honour of *God*, of our *Lady*, and Saint *Edward*, for him and his Anceſtors, it is ordain'd there be four Chaplains, who ſhall be Men of good Condition, and diſcreet; of which one ſhall be Head-Chaplain of the Chapel, and the other three ſhall be his Seconds, or Aſſiſtants.

2. Alſo two *Clerks*, of good Condition, and that chant well, and in all Points attendant on the Head-Chaplain, and on the others, as oft as there ſhall be Occaſion for the Service of the Chapel.

3. Each of the aforeſaid Chaplains ſhall ſing Maſs every Day, without ſome good Cauſe to the contrary; ſo that every Morning there be two Maſſes, by *Note*, the one *of our Lady*, the other *of the Day:* the other two *of Requiem*, for the Souls of the Anceſtors of our Lord the King.

4. The Head-Chaplain, to defray his whole Expence, is to receive X *Marks per An.* Each of the other Three an C *s.* the two Clerks, each of them L *s.*

5. And the King's *Chancellor*, whoever he be, becauſe he is the Head of the King's Chapel, ſhall make, once every Year, a Journey thither, if he can be diſpenſed with by the King, to ſee that the ſaid Chapel be ſerved with Ornaments, Library, and Chantry, in the above-appointed Manner; and make out his Breve *de Liberatæ*, for the ſaid Miniſters to be paid their Wages, duly, twice a Year.

6. And

6. And if any of the above-ſaid ſix Chaplains or Clerks ſhall die, or be removed, the ſaid Chancellor ſhall put a ſufficient Perſon in his Place. The Title of this Record is, *De Providentiis pro Capella Windeſoræ:* and it is in Mr. *Rymer*'s 3d Vol. of *Fœdera*, &c.

It appears (5.) that the *Chancellor* was *the Head of the King's Chapel*, and in the Life of *Thomas Becket* (Chancellor to *H.* II.) written by one who lived at the ſame Time with him, that it was Part of the Chancellor's Office, *ut Capella Regia illius ſit diſpoſitione & Cura.* This ſeems to be the Reaſon of the Lord Chancellor's being (altho' no Clergyman) the Viſitor of the College of Dean and Canons of St. *George* in *Windſor-Caſtle*, founded by *Ed.* III. his Son, which is *the King's Free Chapel*, who was alſo born at that Place, of which there is this *Memorandum*, in the ſame Vol. 3. 1312. which, it will not be much out of my Way to tranſcribe in this Place.

'*Memorand. Iſabella* the Queen was brought 'to Bed, in *Windſor-Caſtle*, on *Monday* the 'next after the Feaſt of St. *Martin*, in Winter, 'in the Year of Grace 1312. the 6 *E.* II. of her 'firſt-born Son; and in St. *Edward*'s Cha-'pel in the ſame Caſtle, he was chriſtned 'the *Thurſday* following, by the Cardinal 'S. *Priſcæ.* His God-fathers were *A. Pictavienſis*, Chamberlain to the Pope; *J.* Bp. of 'Bath and Wells; *W.* Bp. of *Worceſter*; *Lewis* 'Count d'Eureux; *John* of *Brittany*, Earl of

'*Richmond*; *Aymary de Valence*, E. of *Pembrook*, 'and *Hugh le Despenser*.

In 1315, two Chanters were appointed in the Church of *Lichfield*, and had, each for his Salary, V*l.* XV *s. Angl. Sac.* P. I.

In 1332, *Elizabeth de Burgh* makes an Agreement with the *Prior* and *Convent* of *Anglesey* in *Cambridgesh.* for XX*l. per Ann.* which she gives that two Chaplains shall be maintain'd, with each a convenient *Manse*, or Dwelling-house, and Diet, and XX *s.* for Robes and other Necessaries: or else to allow them XII *Marks*, to find themselves in all Things; unless the *Prior* and *Convent* can agree with them for less. And in 1335, she discharges the *Prior* and *Convent* of one of those Chaplains, upon their paying to *Rob. de Spalding*, an Annual Pension of an C *s.* and gives them moreover a Rent-Charge of XI *s.* XI *d. Monast.* Vol. 2. p. 259.

These Chaplains therefore were thought able to live, each upon VI *Marks*, *i. e.* 4 Pounds *per An.*

Between 1345, and 1381, *Thom.* of *Hatfield*, B. of *Durham*, founded a *College* for 8 Monks, and 7 young Men, to study the Liberal Sciences; and allowed to each Monk IV *l.* and to each Student V *Marks. Angl. Sacra.*

In 1350, two Priests, to officiate alternately, during the whole Year, every Day, at the Church of *Sherifhoton* in the Diocese of *York*; to pray for the Souls of *R. Nevil*, Ld. *Raby*, &c. for VII *Marks* between them. In Mr. *Maddox*'s *Formulæ*, p. 450.

In

In 1373, the Master of the Hospital of *Fosse-gate* in *Yorksh.* is to be a Clergyman of good Fame and Discretion; and is to have, for his whole Maintenance, the Sum of X *Marks per Ann.* And if the Revenues increase upon his Management, he is to get another Chaplain to assist him, who, for his Pains, is to have VII *Marks per Ann.* And they must, both of them, constantly *reside*, and constantly *officiate*, on the Place. *Monast.* V. 3. p. 99.

In 1400, *John Plumtree* of *Nottingham*, erected two Chauntries, with two Chaplains to attend daily; to each of whom he allowed C *s.* or V *l. per An. Monast.* V. 2. p. 448.

In 1408, *Fabian* sets it down, that the Stipend of a Mass-Priest was VII *Marks.*

And, not to multiply Instances of this kind, of which you cannot fail of meeting many, in all our Histories; there is a *College* in the *University* of *Cambridge*, founded about the Year 1450, in which the statuteable Allowance to each *Fellow* is V *l. per Ann.* to find him in Diet, Clothes, and all other Necessaries.

You must now be content with *Miscellanies*, the Order of Time however being observed.

Betwixt 871, and 900, King *Alfred* left, by Will, to each of his Daughters, an *Hundred Pounds* in Money. Mr. *Camden* (in his *Remains)* says 400 *l.* But it appears by the *Will*, printed at the end of *Alfred*'s Life at *Oxford*, that the 400 *l.* was divided betwixt his 3 Daughters, and one *Alswith:* But the Reader must not think that this was the *whole*

of their Portion, for he had ſettled *Lands* on each of them before; but this was all he left them in *Money*.

In 1087, when *W. Rufus* came to inquire into the Treaſure his Father had laid up at *Wincheſter*, he found it by Weight 60000 *l.* of Silver, beſides Gold and Jewels. He gave by his Father's Order, and for the Good of his Soul, to each *Great Church (i. e.* Abbey, Convent, or Cathedral) X *Marks*. To each *leſs one* V *Marks*, to every *Pariſh Church* V *s.* and to the *Poor* of every *County* an C *l.* Thus *Ingulfus*, who lived at the ſame Time.

In 1101, the Compoſition betwixt *H.* I. and *Robert* his elder Brother, was, that *Robert* ſhould have 3000 *l. per Ann.* in Weight. *Pet. Blæſenſ. Contin.* The Words, *in Weight*, are put in, to ſignify that the Money ſhould not be clipped, for a Pound by *Tale* was at this Time, and long after, moſt certainly a Pound *in Weight*.

In 1135, when King *Stephen* was crowned, he ſeiſed the Treaſure which *H.* I. had left, which came to 100000 *l.* beſides Gold and Silver Veſſels, with other Jewels ineſtimable. *Tho. Rudborn, Hiſt. Winton.* p. 284.

In 1193, the Ranſom of *R.* I. was an 100000 *Marks* in Silver. *Rad. de Diceto* ſays they were *Pounds*. But Mr. *Rymer*'s Volumes are of greater Authority than any private Writer's Works, being made up of *Records*.

In 1201, K. *John* agreed to pay *Berengaria*, the Dowager Queen of *R.* I, a 1000 *Marks*

per

per Ann. for her Dowry, which he increaſed, in 1215, to a 1000 *Pounds per An.* M. *Rymer, in Anno.*

In 1207, *Amph. Till*, being taken Priſoner by K. *John*, was put to Ranſom at 10000 *Marks*, in part of which he is to pay X Horſes, at the rate of 30 *Marks* a-piece, or in lieu of them 300 *Marks*. Who this Man was, I cannot find, but his Horſes were certainly as high-prized as they could well be.

In 1221, *Joan*, eldeſt Daughter to K. *John*, married to *Alexander* K. of *Scotland*, had a Dowry of 1000 *l. per An. Rymer.*

In 1226, *H.* III. confirms the Dowry of *Iſabella* his Mother, and ſays it was the ſame that *Elianor* his Grandmother had, and makes the ſame to *Elianor* his own Wife, the E. of *Provence*'s Daughter, in 1235, with whom he was to have 20000 *Marks* for Portion. But the *private Inſtructions* were, to accept of 15000, or 10000, or 7000, or 5000, or 3000. Nay, ſhe was to be brought away, tho' they could get nothing at all with her. *Rymer.*

In 1236, *Iſabella*, Siſter to *H.* III. was contracted to the Emperor *Frederic*, with 30000 *Marks. Idem.*

In 1254, *Edward*, the Son of *H.* III. promiſes a Dowry of 1000 *l. per An.* to *Elianor* the K. of *Caſtile*'s Daughter, whilſt he is Prince; but ſays, when ſhe comes to be Queen, he will add 500 *Marks per An.* more. And upon this Marriage, *H.* III. ſettles 15000 *Marks per An.* on the Prince. *Idem.*

In 1278, *E.* I. gives, with his Daughter *Joan*, contracted to *Hartman*, Son to the K. of the *Romans*, 10000 *Marks* Sterling; which are to be return'd in case that *Hartman* die before her, together with what Presents the said Husband shall ever make to her. *Idem.*

In 1294, *E.* I. took into his Hands all the Estates of the *Priories-alien*, allowing to every *Monk* 1 *s.* 6 *d. per Week*, which comes to 3 *l.* 18 *s.* by the Year. And therefore, I suppose, a Monk might live tolerably well on that Allowance. For the King was not angry with the Monks; but these *Priories* were *Cells* to Monasteries in *France*, (with which Nation the King was now at open War) and whatever Surplusage there was, after the Charges of the *Cells* at home were defray'd, it was sent to the Monasteries or principal Houses abroad; which was indeed feeding the King's Enemies.

In 1299, *Ed.* I. contracts with *Margaret* Daughter to the K. of *France:* 18000 *l. Turonens.* (four of which make *one* Pound Sterling) being agreed upon for her Dowry. This in English Money came to 4500 *l. per An.* But in 1315, he increased it to 5000 *l. per An. Rymer.*

In 1301, the Widow of *Edmund* E. of *Cornwal* (Son to the K. of the *Romans*, and Nephew to *H.* III.) was, at the Request of several Lords in Parliament, endowed with a Jointure of 500 *l. per An.* by *E.* I. *Tho. Walsingham.*

In

In 1302, *E.* I. promiſes, to *Iſabella* Daughter to the K. of *France*, contracted to his Son *Edward*, 4500 *l. per An. Rymer.*

In 1306, *E.* I. leaves to his Son *Thomas* 10000 *Marks*, to his Son *Edmond* 7000 *Marks*, *per An.* and to *Elianor* his Daughter, for her Portion, 10000 *Marks*, and 5000 to buy her Apparel. *Idem.*

In 1307, *E.* II. confirms the Grant his Father *E.* I. had made to his Siſter *Mary*, a Nun at *Ambroſbury*, of 200 *l. per An.* 40 Oak-Trees for Firing in her Chamber, and 20 *Dolia* (or Hogſheads) of Wine, as long as ſhe continued in the Nunnery, and lived in *England.* And the Reader will not, I believe, be diſpleaſed, to ſee the Care that was taken in thoſe Days, for the Suſtentation of the Daughter and the Siſter of a King of *England*, in 1313. *Rymer.*

The *King*, to the *Sheriff* of *Wiltes*, greeting.

'FOR as much as We are indebted to our 'deareſt Siſter *Mary*, a *Nun* of *Ambroſ-* 'bury, in the Summ of 12 *l.* 7 *s.* 3 *d.* as well 'for Hay, Oats, Litter, and Shooing, as for 'her Servants Wages, whilſt ſhe tarried at '*Windſor*, in the Month of *December* laſt paſt, 'as alſo for her Expences in travailling from '*Windſor* to *Ambroſbury*, as in a Bill of our '*Warderobe*, delivered by our Siſter into our 'Chancery, appears more at large.—We will- 'ing to ſatisfy our Siſter, in this Particular, 'with all the Speed we may, Do hereby com- 'mand you, to pay to our ſaid Siſter, or her

'lawful

'lawful Attorny, the ſaid Summe, out of the 'Iſſues of your Bailifry, without Delay; and 'We, in your Accounts at our Exchecquer, 'ſhall make all due Allowance for the ſame.

Witneſſe, the King, at Windſor,
Jan. *the 1ſt,*
By a Bill of the Warderobe.

In 1309, the Penſions allowed by the King to the *Cardinals*, and *great Officers* of the *Pope*, who were, as it were, retained by the Court of *England*, were, to ſome, an 100, but to moſt of them 50 *Marks per An.*

In 1310, *William de Morene* of *Saunford*, Kt. being taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, had allowed him by *E.* II. for his Wages, 4 *d.* the Day; and for his Robe, XX *s.* the Year. The better ſort of Priſoners had 3 *d.* ordinary ones 2 *d.* the Day.

In this ſame Year, *a Man at Arms* was allowed 10 *d.* a *Baliſtarius* (a Croſſe-bow-man) 3 *d.* an Archer or Bow-man, 2 *d.* the Day. And the Price the King paid for a *Baliſta*, was 3 *s.* 8 *d.* Mr. *Rymer's Collections in Annis.*

In 1311, when the Order of *Knights Templars* was to be deſtroyed, their Perſons impriſoned, and their Eſtates confiſcated; many of their Servants, Chaplains, and Dependants, were, to be ſure, utterly deſtitute, and undone: The King, *E.* II. thought himſelf obliged to make ſome Proviſion for them. Some of the *Knights* were committed to Monaſteries, there

to

to do Penance for their Offences; and to them the King allowed 4 *d.* a Day, which ſeems to have been their uſual Allowance, becauſe in the *Mandate* to the B. of *Bath* and *Wells*, to make this Allowance to 4 Knights, it is there ſaid, *Sicut prius percipere conſueverunt.* To the *Great Maſter*, *William de la More*, 2 *s.* To ſeveral of their *Chaplains*, the King allows (as the Knights did formerly) 3 *d.* a Day, for their Diet, and XX *s.* for their Stipend, which is, by the Year, V *l.* XI *s.* III *d.* To other Servants, 2 *d.* and to inferior ones, 1 *d.* and V, or X *s.* for their Stipend, or Livery. And for this, they were to do the ſame Service, they had done to the Knights, whilſt the Lands were in their keeping. *Rymer's Collection.*

In 1314, *Elizab.* Wife of *Rob. Bruce* (King of *Scotland)* being Priſoner in *England*, is allowed, for herſelf and Family, 20 *s.* by the Week. To *Rob. Wychard*, Bp. of *Glaſgow*, and *Will. de Lamberton*, Bp. of *St. Andrews*, Priſoners, is allowed each of them 6 *d.* a Day, to a *Valet* 3 *d.* to a *Chaplain* 1 *d. ob.* and to their ordinary Servants 1 *d. ob. Idem.*

In 1316, *Ed.* II. gives to *Theophania*, a *French* Lady, a yearly Eſtate of 500 *l.* for ever, becauſe ſhe had been *Nurſe* to *Iſabella* his Queen. *Idem.*

In 1330, *Joan* of *Oxford*, Nurſe to the *Black Prince*, had a Penſion of 10 *l. per An.* and *Maud Plumpton*, a *Rocker*, had 10 *Marks.* Dr. *Kennet*, *Paroch. Antiq.*

In 1326, *Ed.* II. being depoſed, had an 100 Marks by the Month allowed to maintain

tain him: which is at the rate of 800 *l.* *per An. Walsingham.*

In 1495, when the Lady *Anne*, Daughter to *Ed.* IV. and Sister to Q. *Elizab.* Wife of *H.* VII. was married to *Tho.* L. *Haward*, eldest Son to the E. of *Surry*, it was agreed, that she should be allowed, for her Sustentation, and convenient Diet, of Meat and Drink, 20 *s.* by the Week. And for two Gentlewomen, a Woman Child (*i. e.* a Servant) a Gentleman, a Yoman, and three Grooms, (in all 8 People) 51 *l.* 11 *s.* 8 *d.* by the Year. And for Sustentation of 7 Horses, 16 *l.* 9 *s.* 4 *d.* *i. e.* for each Horse 2 *l.* 7 *s.* ½. M. *Maddox Formul.* p. 109.

In 1091, all the Men of *Croyland*, that will have any Turf out of the *Abbot's Marsh*, must either work a Day's Work, or give *Three Half-Pence* for one to cut Turves for *Croyland Court*. *Ingulfus*,

The Serjeant of the Infirmary shall, for his looking after the Sick, receive for his Reward (if the Party die) a Coat, or 4 *s.* and every one that watched with the Deceased shall have 2 *d.* for every Night. *Idem. ibid.*

A Coat is reasonably valued at 4 *s.* but 2 *d.* a Night for watching, was an extraordinary Recompence. This Serjeant of the Infirmary was to have his Livery of Meat, Drink and Bread, and 4 *s.* *per An.* for Stipend. *Idem.*

In 1225, *Magna Charta*, C. 22. No Sheriff or Baily of ours, shall take the Horses and Carts of any Man, for Carriage, except he pay the old Price limited, *i. e.* for Carriage with

2 Horses

2 Horſes 10 *d.* by the Day: and for 3 Horſes 14 *d.*

In Antiq. Conſtitut. Admiralitatis (but of what Age it appears not) it is thus appointed: *Si l' Admiral ſoit Bacheler, il prendra la jour, pour lui meme, ſur la Mer, IV*s. *Si ſoit Baron, VI*s. *VIII*d. *& s' il ſoit Count, XIII*s. *IV*d. *Bacheler*, is here a *Knight*. And I gueſs, as well by the *Language*, as the *Wages*, that this *Conſtitution* is not very ancient. S. *H. Spelman* in V. *Admiral.*

In 1329, alſo they ſhall *harrow* for 3 Days, or ſhall pay 3 Pence, *i. e.* a Penny for a Day's Work. It muſt not however, I think, be always concluded, from ſuch Paſſages as theſe, that Men worked for a Penny by the Day: becauſe it ſeems to have been the Cuſtom, in ſome Places, for ſome ſort of *Holders*, to be obliged to perform ſuch and ſuch Works, for the *Chief Lord*, at ſuch and ſuch a Price. So in the Word *Seſonis*, in S. *H. Spelman*'s *Gloſſary. Extenta Manerii de Garinges. He is to work a Day's Work every Week, from* Michaelmas *to the Firſt of* Auguſt, *and for it he is to receive for each Day*, 3 *Farthings. And from the Firſt of* Auguſt *to* Michaelmas, *he is to receive a Penny Half-Penny; excepting the Winter Seaſon. Excepta Seſone hiemali.* See alſo the Word *Lanceta*, where you will find much ſuch another Cuſtom.

In 1293, the *Parcarii* of the *Earl* of *Cornwall* were to have 2 Meals, or 2 *d.* by the Day, but the *Earl* would needs have 3 *d.* which the

the Inhabitants complain of. S. *H. Spelman*, in V *Putura.*

I will, in the next Place, give you (out of S. *W. Dugdale's Origines Juridicales)* some Account of the Judges *Fees* or stated *Salaries*, but it is very imperfect, and only better than none at all.

In 1226, The Fee of a Justice was, *per An.* — ——	X *Marks.*
1239, A Justice of the *Common Pleas* had —— ——	XX *Lib.*
1243, A Baron of the *Exchequer* had —— ——	XL *M.*
And in the same Year, a Bar. of the *Exchequer* had but——	XX *M.*
1259, A Justice of the *King's-Bench* had —— ——	XL *L.*
1260, A Justice of the *Common Pleas* had —— ——	C *M.*
And in the same Year a Just. of the *Common Pleas* had ——	XL *L.*
1262, Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas* had —— —	C *L.*
A Justice of the *Com. Pleas* —	XL *L.*
1265, A Baron of the *Exchequer* had —— —— —	XL *L.*
1269, Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench* had —— —	C *M.*
1281, Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas* had —— ——	XL *L.*
A Just. of the *Com. Pleas* had	XL *M.*

1299,

1299, Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench* had —— —	L *Marks.*
Chief Justice of the *Common-Pleas* had — —— ——	C *M.*
Chief Baron of the *Exchequer* had —— —— ——	XL *Lib.*
The Justices of both *Benches* and Barons of *Exchequer* had each —— —— —— —	XX *L.*
1302, A Justice of the *King's Bench* had —— —— —	LXXX *M.*
1364, Chief Bar. and the other Barons of *Exch.* had each	XL *L.*
1367, A Justice of the *Common Pleas* had —— —— ——	XL *L.*
Chief Justice of *King's Bench* had — —— —— ——	C *M.*
A Justice of *King's Bench* had	XL *L.*
1382, A Justice of *Common Pleas* had —— —— —	XL *M.*
1399, Chief Baron of *Exch.* and other Barons had ———	XL *M.*
Chief Justice of *Com. Pl.* had	XL *L.*
A Justice of *Common Pl.* had	XL *M.*
1402, Chief Justice of *King's Bench* had — — — —	XL *L.*
1408, A Justice of *Common Pleas* had —— — ——	LV *M.*

In 1440, upon a general Complaint of all the *Benches*, and of the *Attorney General*, of the ill Payment of their *Fees*, there was an Inquiry made, what they had usually received, for

for the last ten Years past, and what the Crown was indebted to them; by which, and by the Answer that was made to it, it appears, that the standing Fee of each *Chief Justice* was 40 *l. per An.* but that by private Letters Patent, the *Ch. Just. of the Com. Pleas* was allowed 180 Marks *per An.* And the *Ch. Just. of the K. Bench* was allowed 140 Marks *per An.* besides their Fees. And for their *Winter Robes*, 5 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. And for *Summer Robes* 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* The Fee of the *Justices* of both *Benches* was 40 Marks *per An.* their other Allowance was 110 Marks. The Fee of a *Justice of Assise* was 20 *l.* the Fee of the *Attorney General* was X *l. per An.* and what their other Allowance was, does not appear. The Allowance to the King's *Serjeants*, and the *Attorney*, for Robes, was 1 *l.* 6 *s.* 11 *d.*

In 1545, the *Chief Just. of the K. Bench* had an Addition of 30 *l.* to his Fee: and each *Just.* of the same *Bench*, and of the *C. Pl.* had an Addition of 20 *l.* And indeed, at the very best, their Rewards seem to have been far from equal to the faithful Discharge of their most painful and most useful Office: and yet it hath so pleased God to bless their Labours, that I do not think I mis-reckon, when I say, That the *Law* hath laid the Foundation of *Two Thirds* of all the *Honours* and *great Estates* in all *England.*

Let us now see a little to the Wages of *Workmen* and *Servants*, which has ever been accounted of such Importance, that the Parliaments

liaments themſelves have thought fit to take cognizance of it, and to regulate it according to the Rules following; tho', I think, with no great Succeſs.

	l.	s.	d.
In 1351, Workmen were to take their Wages in *Wheat*, at the Rate of X*d.* the Buſhel, which is 6*s.* 8*d.* the Quarter.— ——			
Sarclers (that is, Weeders) and Hay-makers, by the Day, —	00	00	01
Mowing Meadows, 5*d.* the Acre, or by the Day,	00	00	05
Reapers of Corn, in the firſt Week of *Auguſt*, by the Day,	00	00	02
In the ſecond Week, and third, and ſo on to the End of it, —— —— —— —	00	00	03
Without Meat, Drink, or other Courteſy demanded.			
For threſhing a Quarter of Wheat and Rye, —— ——	00	00	02½
For threſhing a Quarter of Barley, Beans, Peaſe, and Oats,	00	00	01½
A Maſter-Carpenter, Maſon, or Tyler, by the Day — —	00	00	03
Other Carpenters, Maſons, or Tylers, —— —— ——	00	00	02
Their Servants, or Boys, —	00	00	01½
Plaiſterers, Workers of Mud-walls, and their Knaves, or Servants, at the ſame Rate, without Meat, or Drink, demanded.			

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
In 1360, Master-Carpenters,	00	00	04
Others, — — — —	00	00	03
Their Servants, — —	00	00	02
In 1389, the Bailiff for Husbandry's yearly Wages, together with his Cloathing, once by Year at most, and his Diet, which is supposed in the following Cases:	00	13	04
The Master Hind, or Chief Husbandman labouring — —	00	10	00
The Carter, and the Shepherd, each by the Year —	00	10	00
The Oxherd — — —	00	06	08
The Cowherd — — —	00	06	08
The Swineherd — — —	00	10	00
A Woman Labourer — —	00	06	00
The Dairy-Woman — —	00	06	00
The Plough-Driver, at most	00	07	00
In 1446, the Wages of a Bailiff of Husbandry — —	01	03	04
His Cloathing (Diet still supposed) — — — —	00	05	00
The chief Carter, and chief Shepherd — — — —	01	00	00
Their Cloathing, each —	00	04	00
A common Servant of Husbandry — — — —	00	15	00
His Cloathing — — —	00	03	04
A Woman-Servant — —	00	10	00
Cloathing — — —	00	04	00
An Infant (*i. e.* one under 14 Years of Age) — — —	00	06	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Cloathing (with Diet) ——	00	03	00
The Servants of Hostlers (*i. e.* Innkeepers) Victuallers, and Artificers, at the same Rates.			
From *Easter*, till *Michaelmas*,			
A Free-Mason, or Master-Carpenter, with Diet, by the Day————————	00	00	04
Without Diet ————————	00	00	05½
A Master-Tyler, Slater, Rough-Mason, a mean Carpenter, and other Artificers, building by the Day, with Diet —	00	00	03
Without Diet ————————	00	00	04½
Other Labourers, with Diet, 2 *d.* without Diet ————————	00	00	03½
From *Michaelmas* to *Easter* they had a Penny by the Day less, the Days being then shorter.			
But in time of Harvest a Mower had, with Diet———	00	00	04
Without Diet ————————	00	00	06
A Reaper, and Carter, with Diet, 3 *d.* without Diet———	00	00	05
A Woman Labourer, and other Labourers, with Diet —	00	00	02½
Without Diet, by the Day—	00	00	04½
In 1514, a Bailiff of Husbandry's yearly Wages————	01	06	08
His Cloathing (Diet supposed)	00	05	00

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Chief Hind, Carter, and Shepherd, each	01	00	00
Cloathing (with Diet)	00	05	00
Common Servant of Husbandry	00	16	08
Cloathing	00	04	00
Women Servants yearly Wages	00	10	00
Cloathing	00	04	00
A Child (*i. e.* a Servant) within 14 Years of Age	00	06	08
Cloathing	00	04	00
From *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, the daily Wages of			
A Free Mason, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Rough Mason, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Bricklayer, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Tyler, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Plummer, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Glazier, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Carver, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
A Joiner, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet was	00	00	06
From *Michaelmas* to *Easter*, with Diet, 3 *d.* without Diet	00	00	05

A Ship-

A Shipwright's Wages was from *Candlemas* to *Michaelmas*,			
1. A Master Carpenter, with Diet, 5 *d.* without Diet———	00	00	07
2. A Hewer, with Diet 4 *d.* without Diet ———————	00	00	06
3. An able Clincher, with Diet 3 *d.* without Diet ——	00	00	05
4. A Holder, with Diet, 2 *d.* without Diet ———————	00	00	04
5. A Master Calker, with Diet, 4 *d.* without Diet———	00	00	06
6. A mean Calker, with Diet, 3 *d.* without Diet ———————	00	00	05
A Calker labouring by the Tide, with Diet ———————	00	00	04

From *Michaelmas* to *Candlemas*, their Wages were,

	With Diet, *d.*	Without Diet, *d.*
1.	4	6
2.	3	5
3.	2½	4½
4.	1½	3
5.	3	5
6.	2½	4½

Other Labourers, from *Easter* to *Michaelmas*, except in Harvest-time, had by the Day allowed, with Diet, 2 *d.* without it ———————	00	00	04

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
From *Michaelmas* to *Easter*, with Diet, 1 *d.* ½, without it—	00	00	03
In Harvest-time, a Mower, with Diet, 4 *d.* without it——	00	00	06
A Reaper, and a Carter, with Diet, 3 *d.* without it ———	00	00	05
A Woman Labourer and other Labourers, with Diet, 2 *d.* ½, without it ———	00	00	04½

The Reader is not to think that these Rules were every where observed; but no Body could *demand*, or *sue* (I suppose) for greater Wages, than were here allowed: and yet the different Cheapness or Dearness of Provisions in several Countries, must be allowed to make amends for different Wages; and therefore these Rules could not be universally reasonable.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

The Conclusion.

TO apply the Chapter of *Corn*, and make it useful to your present Purpose, you must, in the first place, remember, that, during the whole Reign of *Henry* VI. excepting the first and last Years of it (which contains 17 Years above the Time of your Enquiry, which is from 1440 to 1460,) there were XXX *s.* in the Pound; whereas there are *now* (and have been for above an 100 Years) LXII *s.* The Ounce of Silver was *then* at II *s.* 6 *d.* 'tis *now* at V *s.* II *d.* So that the V *l.* (which is the Sum you are concerned about) did *then* contain 40 Ounces; and V *l.* *now*, does not contain above 19 Ounces $\frac{1}{3}$. From whence you may safely conclude, that V *l.* in the Reign of *H.* VI. was of somewhat better Value, than X *l.* now-a-days is. In the next place, to know somewhat more distinctly whereabouts an Equivalent to your ancient V *l.* will come, you are (as I before hinted) to observe how much Corn, Meat, Drink, or Cloth, might have been purchased 250 Years ago, with V *l.* and to see how much of the modern Money will be requisite to purchase the same Quantity of Corn, Meat, Drink, or Cloth, now-a-days. To this End, you must neither take a very dear Year, to your Prejudice, nor a very cheap

one, in your own Favour; nor indeed any ſingle Year, to be your Rule; but you muſt take the Price of every particular Commodity, for as many Years as you can (20, if you have them) and put them all together; and then find out the common Price; and afterwards take the ſame Courſe with the Price of Things, for theſe laſt 20 Years; and ſee what Proportion they will bear to one another; for that Proportion is to be your Rule and Guide.

Thus, if for 20 Years together (from 1440, to 1460,) the common Price of *Wheat* were VI *s.* VIII *d.* the Quarter; and if from 1686, to 1706, the common Price of *Wheat* were 40 *s.* the Quarter; 'tis plain that V *l.* in *H.* VI. Time, would have purchaſed 15 Quarters of Wheat; for which you muſt have paid, for theſe laſt 20 Years, 30 Pound. So that 30 Pound *now*, would be no more than equivalent to V *l.* in the Reign of *H.* VI. Thus if *Oats*, from 1440, to 1460, were generally at 2 *s.* the Quarter, and from 1686 to 1706, were at 12 *s.* the Quarter, 'tis manifeſt that 12 *s.* *now*, would be no more than equivalent to 2 *s.* *then*, which is but a ſixth Part of it. Thus if Beans were *then* 5 *s.* and *now* 30 *s.* the Quarter, the ſame Proportion would be found betwixt 5 *l.* and 30 *l.* But you muſt not expect that every Thing will anſwer thus exactly. *Ale*, for Inſtance, was, during the Time of your Founder, at Three-half-pence the Gallon; but it has been, ever ſince you were born, at 8 *d.* at the leaſt: which is but 5 times more, and a little

a little over. So that 5 *l.* heretofore (betwixt 1440, and 1460,) would purchaſe no more *Ale*, than ſomewhat above 25 *l.* would *now*. Again, good *Cloth*, ſuch as was to ſerve the beſt *Doctor* in your *Univerſity*, for his Gown, was (between 1440, and 1460,) at 3 *s.* 7 *d. ob.* the Yard; at which Rate, V *l.* would have purchaſed 27 Yards, or thereabouts. *Now*, you may purchaſe that Quantity of fine Cloth, at ſomewhat leſs, I think, than 25 *l.* So that 25 *l. now*, would be an Equivalent to your 5 *l. then*, 250 Years ſince, if you pay about 18 *s.* the Yard, for your Cloth. I think I have good Reaſon to believe, that Beef, Mutton, Bacon, and other common Proviſions of Life, were ſix times as cheap in *H.* VI. Reign, as they have been, for theſe laſt 20 Years. And therefore I can ſee no Cauſe, why 28, or 30 *l. per An.* ſhould *now* be accounted a greater Eſtate, than V *l.* was heretofore, betwixt 1440, and 1460.

Sir *H. Spelman* (a very competent Judge and Eſtimator of theſe Matters) complains, That the Laws have not ſufficient Regard to the different Price of Things, when they condemn People to death, for ſtealing Things to the Value of *twelve Pence*; for tho' that is according to Law, yet that Law was made when *twelve Pence* would have purchaſed as much as you muſt now-a-days give 20, 30, nay 40 *s.* for. And he inſtances in a *Quarter of Wheat*, which in the *Aſſiſe of Bread*, 51 *H.* III. was rated at *twelve Pence*, but, in his Time, was often ſold for 40 *s.* and upwards. 'Tis certain, the Laws do never condemn any One

One to death, for ſtealing to the Value of *one*, no, nor *three*, or *four* Shillings: But 'tis certain that many die for ſtealing Things of leſs Value than 20 *Shillings*. And therefore, I think, I have very ſufficient Reaſon (not to *determine*, but) to *conjecture*, that 5 *l.* 260 Years ago, was equivalent to 28, or 30 *l.* now. And conſequently, that he who has *an Eſtate of Inheritance*, or *a perpetual Penſion*, of that Value, now-a-days, may as honeſtly hold a *Fellowſhip* with it, as he, who lived 260 Years ago, might have held it, with 99 *s. per Ann.* Nor does my Kindneſs and Concern for you, biaſs my Judgement in this Affair; for I have thought the ſame Thing, long before your Queſtion was put; and, indeed, ever ſince I could conſider the Difference of Times, and the different Prices of Corn and all other Commodities. And I had rather put your Conſcience on this Bottom, whoſe Reaſon is clear, and founded upon Matter of Fact, and Hiſtory not to be controul'd; than upon the common Preſumption, that your Founder did certainly intend, *his Scholars* ſhould live like *other Scholars* of the Univerſity; and that the Way of living being *now* much changed (do not offer to ſay improved) from what it was ſo long ago, you muſt needs be at liberty to live in the ſame Manner; for I dare ſay, that neither your Founder, nor any other Founder, if he were now alive, would admit of many expenſive Articles, which the corrupt Cuſtoms of the Times, and multitude of Examples, have made young People think neceſſary;

neceſſary; and which, I am perſuaded, muſt ſome time or other be reformed, as Things neither uſeful nor creditable to the Life of a Student. But of this, you will think I have ſaid at leaſt enough.

The Application of the Chapter of *Stipends* to your Purpoſe is this; That if, about your Founder's Time, 7 or 8 Marks was judged a competent Proviſion for a ſingle Clergyman, and 8 Marks do not much exceed 5 *l.* then V *l.* was a tolerable Maintenance for a ſingle Student. And if ſo, then if 28, or 30 *l.* be now-a-days but a ſufficient Maintenance for a ſingle Student (ſober and virtuous) it can be preſumed to be no more *now*, than 7 or 8 Marks *heretofore* was, and therefore may be enjoyed with the ſame Innocence and Honeſty, together with a *Fellowſhip*, according to the Founder's Will.

I have now diſcharged my Engagement, and given ſuch Anſwer to your Queſtion, as I think is reaſonable and honeſt; and might here take my leave of you, if I did not think it would be acceptable enough, both to you and other Readers, to acquaint you, that ſince I was employed in writing an Anſwer to your Queſtion, I had another put to me, concerning the *Oath* which the *Sheriff* of a County puts to ſuch as are *Electors* of Parliament-Men, if he thinks fit; *viz.* Whether they have Lands or Tenements to the yearly Value of 40 *s.* *ultra Repriſas? i.e.* Whether they have 40 *s.* *per Ann. clear*; all certain and neceſſary Charges being abated and deducted: for tho' a Man

Man may receive 8 *l.* a Year for his Estate, yet if his *Quit-Rent*, or any other certain Payment, be 13 *s.* 4 *d.* that Man has not an Estate of 8 *l. ultra Repriſas*, becauſe there is 13 *s.* 4 *d.* to be repriſed, or *taken back again*, which is, I think, the Meaning of the Word. Now this Act of Parliament was made, 8 *H.* VI. when 40 *s. per Ann.* clear of all Incumbrance, was at leaſt equal to 8 *l. per Ann.* now-a-days. (I put it ſo low to avoid all Cavil and Diſpute.) When a Freeholder therefore, does *now* take his Oath, that he has an Eſtate of 40 *s. per Ann.* 'tis manifeſt he does not mean 40 *s.* as it was valued when that Act of Parliament was made (1430,) but as 40 *s.* go *now* (in 1706.) Is it not therefore manifeſt, that he does not ſwear to the Purpoſe and Intention of the Law-givers, and only ſwears true to the *Denomination* of 40 *s. per Annum?* To this I anſwered, That doubtleſs the Purpoſe and Intention of the Legiſlators, in 1430, was defeated by ſuch an Oath, when he who ſwears has really but 40 *s. per Ann.* as Money and Things go *now*. But yet that ſuch an Oath was honeſtly taken, and without any perjurious Fraud, or Reſervation, becauſe taken according to the literal Senſe of the Words of it, and becauſe taken in the Senſe of thoſe who adminiſter it, and (as is moſt reaſonably preſumed, tho' not declared) in the Senſe of the Legiſlative Power, which accepts, and juſtifies ſuch Proceedings, and which has equal Power and Authority, to put what Signification it pleaſes on Words, with the Parliament that made

made that Act, in 1430. These Things, when put together, may look, at first sight, somewhat odly; that *one* Man may swear he is not worth V *l. per Ann.* according to the Statute that requires such Oath, when he is really worth more than X, or XX *l. per Ann.* and *another* may swear he is worth 40 *s. per Ann.* when he is really not worth 10 *s. per Ann.* according to the Statute that first imposed that Oath. You see then how necessary it is to distinguish Times.

Whether the Legislative Power, in 1430, did well, and wisely, in reducing the Number of Electors to such as were worth 40 *s. per Annum*, (which cut off many hundred thousand Voices, and consequently many Occasions of Tumults and Disorders) is not to be doubted overmuch; nor yet is to be over-confidently affirmed, because if it had been so wise and useful an Ordinance, it would have still been kept up, in its due Proportion, according to the Difference of Times; altho' the Changes of such Moment are not to be frequently and lightly made. But in these Affairs, it is not fit for private People to meddle.

I have but one Thing more to offer to your Consideration, from the Accounts I have given of the different Price of Corn, and other Commodities, and then I will put an end to this long Letter: And that is, That if ever you design to take Orders, and obtain any *Rectory*, *Vicarage*, or higher *Dignity* in the Church, you be, above all Things, careful, how you make any

any Compoſition or Agreement, for any long Space of Years, to receive a certain Price of Money, for the Corn that is due to you, altho' for the preſent it may ſeem a tempting Bargain, and a profitable Exchange, and rid you of ſome Trouble. You know not what Time may bring forth, nor what great Alterations may happen, nor what great Miſchiefs you, unwittingly, may do your Succeſſors. But I cannot better repreſent my Meaning, nor ſhew you the ill Conſequence of ſuch Agreements, than in the Words of Dr. *Kennet*, in his *Parochial Antiquities*; out of which, I will, with his Leave, and for your Sake, and for the common Benefit, tranſcribe a Page or two, to our preſent Purpoſe, *p.* 604. 'For the Miſchief of 'a dead and unimproved Allowance in *Money*, 'there is a good Inſtance cited in a Charter to 'the Church of *Peterborough* (ſee *Gunton*'s *Hiſt.* 'put out with great Additions by Bp. *Patrick*) 'by *Walter de St. Edmundo* about 1240, where 'the Abbot does grant, for God's Sake, and in 'reſpect to Peace, that inſtead of the Aſſize 'for Corn, which the *Cellerarius* paid him out 'of *Belaſſiſe*, he would hereafter accept of an 'Equivalent in Money, *viz.* for 28 Quarter 'and one Schepe (*i.e.* a Buſhel) of Wheat, he 'ſhould receive IV *l.* XIII *s.* IX *d.* by which 'Computation each Quarter was then valued 'at 3 *s.* 4 *d.* Had the Abbey continued, what 'an unhappy Bargain had it proved by this 'Time, when the Rent muſt have kept 'ſtanding at 4 *l.* 13 *s.* 9 *d.* whereas the preſent

'Value

'Value of the Corn would have been ſeldom 'leſs than *Fifty Pounds*. Such like Prejudice 'was done to the Church of *Sulthorn* (now '*Souldern) Com. Oxon.* the Rector whereof uſed 'to receive from the Abbot and Convent of '*Oſeney*, one Acre of Bread-Corn, growing on 'their Demeſne of *Mixbury*, and four Pence 'from their Demeſne of *Fulewell*, till about the 'latter End of *Hen.* III. *Robert de Hay*, Rector 'of that Church, agreed to receive One hun-'dred Shillings from the ſaid Abbey, to pur-'chaſe to himſelf and Succeſſors, the Annual 'Rent of *five Shillings*, in full Compenſation 'for the ſaid Acre of Corn. So when *Maud 'de Cheſny* had given to the Prior and Canons 'of *Burceſter* 5 Quarters of Bread-Corn, out 'of her Manor of *Heyford* (now *Heyford 'Warine) Com. Oxon.* to be delivered yearly to 'them, on Condition they ſhould find Hoſts, 'or conſecrated Bread, at the ſaid Church of '*Heyford*; when this Manor and Church were 'conveyed to *New College in Oxf. Tho. Ban-'bury* (Prior of *Burceſter)* and his Convent did, 'in 2 *H.* VII. *Ann.* 1486, releaſe the ſaid Rent-'Charge of Corn, for the Conſideration of *ſix 'Shillings and eight Pence*, yearly in Money; 'which, by this Time, would have borne no 'greater Proportion to that Quantity of Wheat, 'than 1 does to 30. When Pariſh-Churches 'were firſt appropriated to Religious Houſes, 'they were ſupplied by ſecular Prieſts, who 'were ſtipendiary Curates, with the Salary of 'V, or at beſt, but X Marks; and when by

'the

'the Ordination of Vicarages, the Stipend was 'exchanged into a ſtanding Portion of Tithe 'and Glebe, and Manſe, ſuch Endowment 'was generally proportioned to the Pecuniary 'Rate of V or X Marks; ſo that the Al-'teration at that Time, was no Benefit to 'the Prieſt, only as it better'd his Title, 'and made him a perpetual Vicar, inſtead of 'an Arbitrary Curate. But conſider, if the 'Portion of the Vicar had been allotted in ſuch 'a certain Sum of Money, what Mendicants 'muſt our Country-Vicars *now* have been! 'Whereas the Aſſignation being made in im-'proveable Land and Tithes, by this Means '(the Value of Money abating, and the Rate 'of Land and Commodities advancing) ſome 'Vicarages, which at the firſt Ordination had 'no greater Endowment than what was equi-'valent to V Marks, do *now* afford the Main-'tenance of 50 *l. per. Ann.* Hence the Me-'mory of Sir *Thomas Smith* is highly to be 'honoured, for promoting the Act in 18 *Eliz.* 'whereby it was provided, That a third Part 'of the Rent upon Leaſes made by Colleges, 'ſhould be reſerved in Corn, payable either in 'Kind or Money, after the Rate of the beſt 'Prices in *Oxford* or *Cambridge* Markets, on 'the next Market-Day before *Michaelmas* and '*Lady-Day*. This worthy Knight is ſaid to 'have been engaged in this Service, by the 'Advice of Mr. *Henry Robinſon*, ſoon after '*Provoſt* of *Queen's-College*, *Oxon.* and from 'that Station advanced to the See of *Carliſle*.

'And

'And Tradition goes, that the Bill passed the 'Houses, before they were sensible of the 'good Consequences of it. We know, in 'the latter Times of our Confusion, a Project 'was carried on, of destroying the ancient 'Right of Tithes, and converting that pious 'Maintenance of the Clergy into settled Por-'tions of Money. How fatal this Innovation 'would have been in Time, is ingeniously 'urged by two ingenious and learned Writers, '(Mr. *Stephens*'s Preface to Sir *H. Spelman* of 'Tithes; and Dr. *Comber*, Histor. Vindication 'of Tithes, *p.* 2. *c.* 10.) We have had some 'Benefices in *England*, altered by such Me-'thod by Decrees in *Chancery*, with a certain 'Sum in Money, allotted in Compensation of 'all Tithes: This may seem an Ease, and 'perhaps an Advantage, upon the first Estab-'lishment of it. But, unless the Incumbent 'be invested with a Power of Revocation; 'and, as the Reason alters, can assume his Right 'of Tithing, I am sure, in an Age or two, 'the Successors will suffer extremely by such 'a Bargain. For a Living now, of *one hun-'dred Pounds per Annum*, in Composition-Mo-'ney, will, in a future Generation, by the 'stinted Revenue, not exceed another Living 'that is not, at present, of half the Value in 'Glebe and Tithe. And it will then (too late) 'appear, that the Predecessor, who complied 'with such a Change, did not consult the In-'terest of the Church; and that such a De-'cree did not become a *Court of Equity*. It

'is very obvious to consider, That nothing 'has been a more unjust Diminution of small 'Tithes, than the Custom of a Rate *in Money*, 'instead of the titheable Thing in Kind; tho' 'such Rate, no Doubt, when first imposed, 'was equivalent to the Things remitted for 'it, whereas they now bear but small, or no 'Proportion to it. As for Instance, in one 'of the old *Saxon* Laws (confirmed by the '*Conqueror)* it is provided, That if a Man 'have one or two *Colts*, he shall pay for the 'Fall of each *one Penny*, and the like for '*Calves*; which was a just Proportion, when 'the best Colt or Calf was not valued above '10*d.* But the Iniquity is, that this Custom 'does *still* obtain in many Parishes; and the 'like minute Consideration, for *Wool* and '*Lambs*, where, for Custom Sake, the Tithe 'must be taken, without any Allowance for 'the much advanced Value of them; by which 'Means, the *Modus Decimandi* is a growing 'Injury, and calls for a Relief by Law, when 'it shall please the Wisdom and the Justice of 'our Governors. Those eight Men of Qua-'lity and Learning, who were appointed, at 'the Beginning of the Reformation, to col-'lect such Ecclesiastical Canons, as ought to 'remain in Force, did freely declare their 'Judgment, *That* these Customs ought to be 'abrogated. And the learned Dr. *Cowell* has 'professed the same Opinion, that it is reason-'able to take away all such Customs, as do 'lessen the Tenth Part, due to the Church of 'God. (The *Interpreter* in the Word *Tithes*.")

Thus

Thus far that learned and experienced Person, to whose Authority I can add nothing, since what he says is plain, reasonable, and confirmed by Matter of Fact. And I do heartily concur with him, in wishing the Gentlemen of the Clergy would seriously consider these Matters, whenever they have Occasion. And thus you see, that the Consideration of these small Matters may be of Use, in Things of great Importance. I have only to add, That I shall think myself well paid for my Pains, if I have given you the Satisfaction you desire, and any little Encouragement to look yourself into the *Antiquities* of your Native Country, according to the very laudable Example of many excellent Persons of your *Famous University*.

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Biſhop *FLEETWOOD*'s

PREFACE

TO THE

READER.

WHEN I had ſet down, in the firſt Chapter, *the Reaſon and Occaſion of writing this little Book; and,* in the following ones *had given the Proofs of my Determination; and,* in the laſt, *had ſhewn the Uſe and Application of them, I thought I had made an End of my Buſineſs.*

But the Bookſeller, *it ſeems, is of the Opinion, that I ſhould not ſhew myſelf reſpectful enough to you, unleſs I introduced you, by the way of* Preface. *To comply, therefore, with his Deſires, I muſt needs think of ſaying ſomething, tho' it be but to diſcover ſome of the Imperfections of this Book.*

The Chapters then, of Money, *might have been much more compleat, by the Addition of* 5 *or* 6 Plates *of the ſeveral* Coins *we have had*

ſince the Conqueſt.* *Of the* Golden *Ones, I deſpair of ever ſeeing a* Collection, *of any tolerable Antiquity; ſince they who are beſt, as I hear, provided of theſe Treaſures, can riſe no higher than* Edward III.† *And for my own Part, I have never ſeen any one Piece, older than* H. VI. *and that was, I believe, a* French *one too: And I am confident, that to a common Curioſity, a Piece of Gold, older than the* laſt Edward, *will appear a very great* Rarity. *And yet, for full* Five Hundred *Years ſince* the Conqueſt, *one may well imagine, that moſt of the* great *Payments muſt have been made in* Gold; *ſince (as I think, I have made appear) for* 300 *Years after that Time, there were no other* Silver *Pieces coined, than* Pence, Half-Pence, *and* Farthings: *and for* 150 *Years next after, there were no other than a* Groat *and* Half Groat, Henry VII. *being the firſt that ever coin'd a* Shilling, *and that too at the latter End of his Reign, and but a very few of them: So that when you read (out of that Paſſage of* Gervaſe *of* Tilbury, *cited at large by Mr.* Lowndes,‖ *and whom I have, by Miſtake, in* Page 56, *cited as writing in the Time of* H. I. *inſtead of* H. II.) ſub omnium Oculis effundit in Scaccario xxiiii Solidos, quos de Acervo ſumptos prius ſignaverit. *And a little after,* Reliquos vero xxiiii Solidos mittit in Loculum. *When, I ſay, you read*

* This Imperfection is in this Edition ſupplied.

† Becauſe he was the firſt King of *England* that coined Gold into Current Money. See the *Hiſtorical Account* at the End of this *Chronicon.*

‖ In his Eſſay.

read theſe Paſſages, and others like them, in ancient Writers of the Engliſh *Affairs, you are not to conclude that there was then any ſuch Piece as a* Shilling *coined, no more than you would conclude there was ſuch a Coin as a* Pound, *tho' you often meet with the word* Libra. *Upon the whole Matter, till about* 1544, *the* Silver *Money of* England *conſiſted of* Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence *(called, of old,* Mails) *and* Farthings: *In any, or all, of which Pieces, it muſt have been very troubleſome to have paid* 5 *or* 10 *thouſand Pounds: which makes it ſomewhat ſtrange, that no more Gold of* Ancient Kings *ſhould be preſerved among us. But ſo, the* Antiquaries *tell us, it is with* Grecian *and with* Roman *Pieces, there being* 40 Medals *preſerved, for* one *Piece of* Current Coin, *that we can be ſure of. So that the beſt Reaſon, why we have ſo few old* Gold Coins *remaining with us, ſeems to be, becauſe they were (as we call them)* Current, i. e. *they might be eaſily ſpent.*

But this, that has been ſaid, makes it appear, that a ſmall Plate *or two* would hold the Coins of* Silver, *of* 500 Years. *For the Coins of* W. Conq. W. II. H. I. Stephen, H. II. R. I. John, H. III. Ed. I. Ed. II. *were only* Pence, Half-Pence, *and* Farthings. *The Coins of* Ed. III. R. II. H. IV. H. V. H. VI. Ed. IV. R. III. *were only* Groats, Half-Groats, Pence, Half-Pence, *and* Farthings. H. VII. *(as is above-*

* See the Plates at the End of this Edition.

ſaid) added to this Number the Shilling, *which is, I believe, hard to meet with.* H. VIII. *added no new* Species, *but, in his later Life, debaſed all the old ones.* Edward VI. *debaſed them yet more, but in his laſt Year made great Amends, and added* Crowns, Half-Crowns, Six-Pences, *and* Three-Pences, *(ſo that I have miſtaken,* Page 33. *in ſaying* Three-pences *were firſt coined by* Q. Elizab.) *As to the Coins of the Princes following, they have been in almoſt every Bodies Hands; but yet the Memory of their* Weight, Fineneſs, *and* Compaſs, *ought to be preſerved to Poſterity, much better than 'tis like to be. And we ſee the Neceſſity of the* late new Coinage *hath almoſt obliterated the Names of* E. VI. Q. Mary I, Q. Eliz. Jac. I. *and* C. I. *already. So that an* 100 *Years hence, it will be hard to know, what Sort of Money was coined by Them; which would be great Pity, ſince they coined excellent Money, both for Weight and Fineneſs, which is both to the Advantage and Honour of a Nation. This Evil,† I once thought to have remedied; but the Trouble of procuring, rather than the Charge of cutting a ſingle Piece of each* Prince, *ſince the* Conqueſt, *was, I found, too great for ſuch a One as I am; and whoever attempts it, muſt be obliged to abundance of curious Perſons, who have theſe Coins in their private Cabinets. And I here beſpeak their Favour, if I ſhould ever have Time and Power to undertake it.*

I have

† Is remedied in this Edition.

I have alſo, in the Second Chapter, *omitted all* Quarter-Pieces *of Gold, of whatever Denomination, becauſe they will be eaſily known, by knowing* the whole: *as alſo the* 5 l. *and the* 2 l. *Pieces of Gold of* Ch. II. *and the* 3 l. *Pieces of* Ch. I. *and ſome other ſuch like, becauſe they rather ſeem to have been* Medals, *than* Current Coin.

As to the Chapter *of* Prices, *it will be in every Body's Power to make it more compleat, by reading the old* Computus's, *that he ſhall chance to light upon, and inſerting what he finds wanting, or differing from the* Accounts, *that I have given: but moſt eſpecially the Gentlemen of each* Univerſity *will have it in their Hands, to make what Amendments they ſhall ſee good, out of their old* Rolls *and* Burſars Accounts; *which I look upon as the moſt ſure Guides, in Enquiries of this Nature; becauſe our General Hiſtories do moſtly give us the Prices of Things, which are* extraordinary, *either for* Cheapneſs, *or for* Dearneſs; *whereas the* College-Accounts *deliver faithfully the* ordinary *and* common *Price of moſt Commodities and Proviſions.*

One Thing more I muſt obſerve to you; that the Nature of the Work obliged me, I thought, to ſet down the Names of the Authors, *out of which I collected the Materials of this Book; as well to juſtify myſelf, as that you may recur to the Originals, whenever you pleaſe, in the particular Years;*

Years; as alſo to avert, a little, that Scorn, with which ſome, in their ſupercilious Gravity, may purſue the Collectors of ſuch light and trivial Matters; when they ſhall find, that no Engliſh Hiſtorian, *of any tolerable Eſteem among us, hath failed to make Obſervations of the like Nature. Nay, ſome conſiderable Ones have made it ſo much their Buſineſs, that they ſeldom conclude a* Year *without informing us, whether it were a* dear *or a* cheap *one.*

This Remark will alſo help to remove the Oſtentation of much Reading, *becauſe there is no need of reading an* Author *throughout, to find what I have here diſcovered; the Method of many of them making it eaſier to do ſo, by ſetting down (as I ſaid) the Price of Corn, and other Proviſions, at the End of every Year. But ſo far I muſt needs oſtentate my Reading, as to aſſure you, that I have viewed with my own Eyes, and tranſcribed from all the* Originals, *whatever I have ſet down; even many Particulars, which I have been content to give you very often in honeſt Mr.* Stow's Engliſh.

But, after all the Care I could take, I am ſenſible, there muſt needs be many Faults, and many Miſtakes, in a Work of this Nature; and One I have already found, which I think myſelf obliged to retract, in this Place, becauſe it is too late to do it in its proper One; and that is, a Cenſure I paſſed on Mr. Speed's *giving us ſo many* Two-pences *and* Three-pences *of* Saxon Kings,

Kings, *and ſome others, ſince the* Conqueſt. *I was led into it, (as others have been) by thinking he intended to mark* Two Pences *and* Three Pences *by the Figures of* 2 *and* 3, *which I am now ſenſible he intended for another Purpoſe. And therefore, as it would be an Error in any One, to think thoſe Pieces were coin'd ſo early, ſo I muſt needs acquit Mr.* Speed, *either of being in that Error himſelf, or of leading any others into it by Deſign, altho' thoſe Figures are placed over the Coins I there mention in* Page 34. *I have made ſome ſort of Amends, however, for theſe Errors, by taking more than uſual Care, that you ſhould have as few* Errata's *of the* Printer, *as is poſſible in a Work of this ſort.*

THE

THE

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In Three VOLUMES.

By BROWNE WILLIS, *Eſq*;

B L

English Silver Coins

William the I. The Conqueror.

William II.

Henry I.

Stephen.

Henry II.

H. II.

Richard I.

John

Henry III.

Edward I.

H. III.

E. I.

Plate II.

Edward. III. Penny.

E. III. Groat.

Richard II. Penny.

Henry. IV. Groat.

Half Penny. H. IV.

Henry. V. Groat.

H. VI. Groat.

Henry. VII. Groat.

R. III. Groat.

misplaced

BL

Plate. III.

Henry. VIII. Testoon. *Broadfaced Shilling*

Edward. VI. Shilling.

Crown
E. VI.

Mary. I Shilling. *Ed: VI. Shill*

Elizabeths. Crown.

Plate IV.

2. Eliz: Sovereign (in Gold) misplaced

2. Eliz: two Pence

2. Elizabeths. Crown.

James I Penny

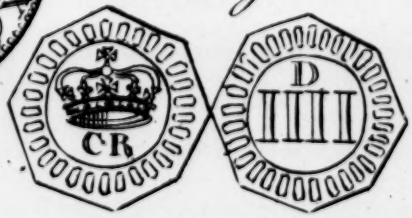
2. Eliz: Groat.

Charles I. Shilling

Charles I. Shilling

Charles. I. Shilling.

Charles. I. Groat.

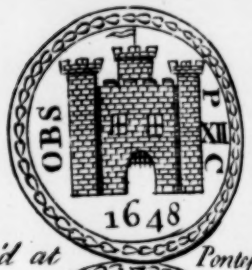


Charles. I. 2 Pence.

Plate.V.

K.Charles I. Shilling.

K.Charles I. Shilling.



Coinid at Pontefra

Oliver's Shilling.

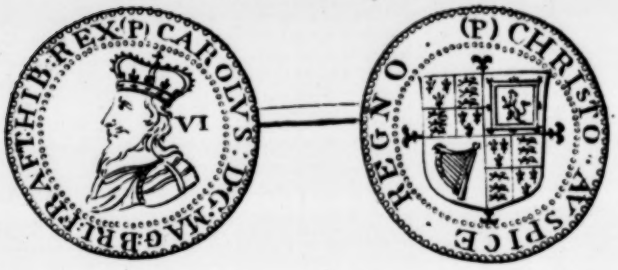
misplaced

K.Charles I. Crown.

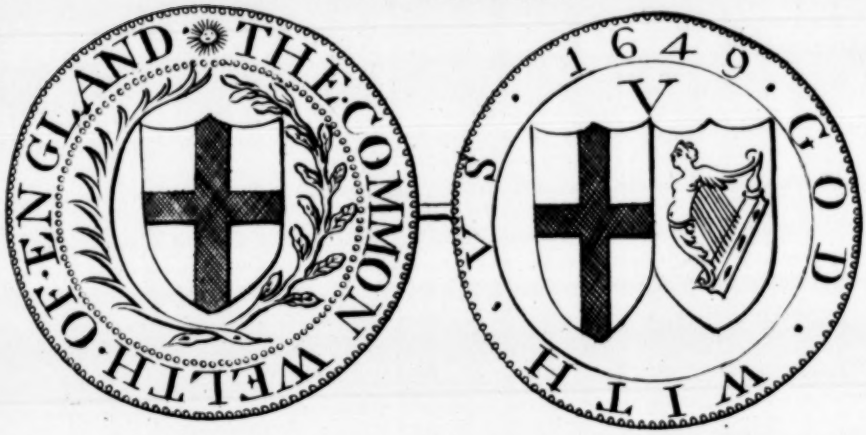
K.Charles I. half Crown.

Plate. VI.

K. Charles. I. Sixpence.



The Commonwealth's Crown.



Commonwealth's Shilling.

Commonwealth's Sixpence.

B L

English Gold Coins.

Half Noble.

Edward III half Penny of Gold

E. 3.

Henry V. Noble.

Richard II half Penny of Gold.

Henry VI. Rose Nobl. or Ryal.

Henry V. Salute.

Henry VI. Angel.

Henry VII. Sovereign.

Crown of Gold Hen. VIII.

Henry VIII. Angel.

Henry VIII. Sovereign.

Edward VI. Noble

Henry VIII. Noble.

B

Plate IX.

2. Elizabeth's Rose Royal.

2. Eliza. Sovereign.

2. Eliz: half Sovereign.

2. Eliz. Angel.

2. Eliz: Spur Royal.

Plate X.

James. I. Rose Royal of 33 Shil.

James. I. Rose Royal of 30 Shil.

K James. I. Unite.

Val. 22*s.*

James. I. Lanrel.

Val. 20*s.*

James. I. Spur Royal

BL

Plate XI.

K. James I. Spur Royal.

K. James I. Angel.

Val. XI. Shil.

James I double Brit. Crown.

James, I. Lanrel.

James I. Angel.

Val. X. Shil.

Charles I. Rose Royal.

Ja. I. Brit. Crown.

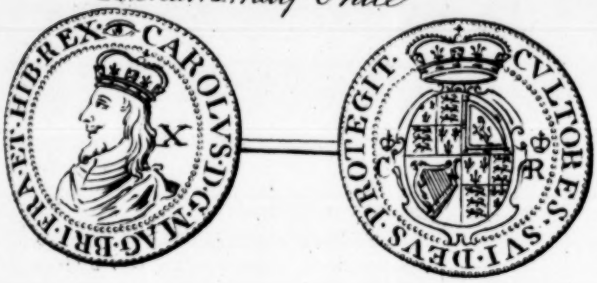
James I. V. S. Lanrel.

Plate XII.

K. Char. I. Unite

Char. I. Spur Royal

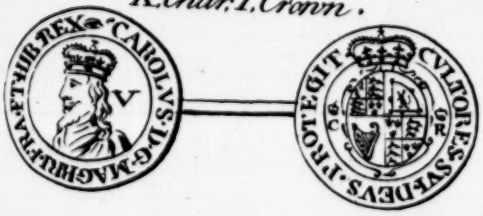
K. Char. I. half Unite



Charles I. Angel.

The XXI. Piece of ye Commonwealth

K. Char. I. Crown.



X. s. Piece.

V. s. Piece.

AN

APPENDIX

TO

Chronicon Precioſum:

CONTAINING

An Hiſtorical Account of COINS:

In General,

Of the *Original* of Coins; by whom Money was *firſt* coined; and to whom the *Privilege* and *Prerogative* of Coining, *&c.* properly belongs:

In Particular,

Of the *Standard*, and the ſeveral *Alterations* which the Coin of *England* has undergone; as alſo the Names and Deſcription of the Coins, in Copper-Plate, from *WILLIAM the Conqueror* to the *Reſtoration*.

LONDON:

Printed for T. Osborne, in *Gray's-Inn*.

M.DCC.XLV.

AN Hiſtorical Account OF COINS.

CHAP I.

Of the Original of Coins. *By whom Money was* firſt *coined, and to whom the* Privilege *and* Prerogative *of Coining, &c.* properly belongs.

IT is not neceſſary for me to trace the original Cauſe of Money; but, I ſay, after that Money was found to be the Commenſurate Ballance, and its intrinſick Value and Eſtimate by common Conſent was allowed and agreed upon to be the only convenient and valuable Compenſation in all manner of Commerce, Bargains and Contracts; to prevent Frauds and Abuſes in debaſing the Valuation of the precious Metals of Gold and Silver, it was, as is moſt probable, univerſally or generally agreed and thought moſt fit, That Kings, Princes and States, who are naturally intruſted with the Lives, Liberties and Eſtates of private Perſons, ſhould be alſo intruſted with the Mint, or the ſtamping, coining, and ſetting the Eſtimation, Denomination, Price and Value of Gold and Silver Money: For, as every King, Prince, or ſupreme Governor of any State, ought to be the *Pater Patriæ*, or to take the ſame Care for the Good of his Subjects, as a Father doth for the Welfare and Honour of his Children and Family; ſo it was conceived that they were the moſt proper and fit Perſons to be confided in about this weighty and univerſal Concern of putting and eſtabliſhing the Denomination, Value and Currentneſs upon Money; who, as it was hoped, would diſtribute Juſtice impartially and equally to every individual Perſon within their Dominions, and under their Subjection and Allegiance.

Hence it is that *Leigh* obſerves,[a] That the Coining of Money is a ſpecial Right and Prerogative of Sovereign Majeſty, of which the *Roman* Princes did not a little glory; and according to *Hales*[b] it is the inherent Regality and Prerogative of the Crown of *England*, and pertains to the King alone, to ſettle the Currentneſs, Allay, Weight, Denomination and intrinſick Value, and to eſtabliſh a Price to the Quantity, and to put a Stamp or Impreſſion on it; which being done, the Coin becomes current for ſo much as the King hath limited it ſhall paſs for.[c]

a In his *Diatribæ* of Money, p. 35.

b See his Treatiſe concerning Sheriffs Accts, cap. I. p. 2, 3.

c See *Plowden* Com. fol. 136. *Davis* Rep. fol. 19. *Coke*'s 2 Inſt. 576.

That the Kings of this Nation do juſtly claim this Prerogative from ancient Uſe, does appear by the many notorious Changes of Money made in the Times of our ſeveral Kings and Queens ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt, as hereafter ſhall be ſhewn. For though ſeveral Acts of Parliament have paſſed concerning Exchanges and the Exportation of *Engliſh* Moneys, and the Importation and Utterance of foreign, and baſe, or falſe Money; ſo there are alſo ſeveral Ordinances of the Kings of *England*, made without the Conſent and Advice of Parliament, called (in this Caſe) *Statutes*; viz. *Statutum de Moneta magnum*, and *Statutum de Moneta parvum*; which are alſo called and adjudged to be Statutes; becauſe the Ordinance of the King with a Proclamation in ſuch Caſes has the Form of an Act of Parliament. And

As this Preheminence is a Part of the King's Regality and Prerogative, ſo it is a Part of his regal Revenue,[d] which is called the King's *Seigniorage* or *Royalty*, or *Coinage*; for in every Pound Weight of Gold, the King had commonly five Shillings for his Coinage, out of which he generally allowed twelve Pence, but ſometimes eighteen Pence to the Maſter of the *Mint* for his Work and Trouble: and upon every Pound Weight of Silver the *Seigniorage* or *Coinage*, anſwered to the King in the Reign of *Edward* the *Third*, was eight Penny-weights *Pondere*; which, according to Sir *Matthew Hales* was equivalent to one Shilling, out of which the King allowed ſometimes three Parts in four to the Mint Maſter, reſerving only the fourth

d See Sir *Matt. Hales*, ib.

fourth Part to himſelf. But in the Reign of *Henry* the *Fifth*, the King's *Seigniorage* of every Pound Weight of Silver was fifteen Pence.[e]

e See Rot. Parl. 9 *Hen.* V. part 2. n. 15.

Altho' the Authorization, Denomination and Stamp of Coin, was undoubtedly the Right of the Kings of this Nation; yet our ancient *Saxon* Kings communicated this Prerogative to their Subjects.[f] Then we find that in every good Town there was a Coiner, but in *London* there were eight, and at *Canterbury* ſeven, *viz.* four on the King's Account, two for the Archbiſhop, and one for the Abbot; at *Wincheſter* ſix; at *Rocheſter* three; at *Haſtings* two, and the ſame at *Hampton*, *Exeter*, *Shaftſbury*, *Lewes*, and *Chicheſter*.[g] And, as *Roger Haywood* obſerves, this Prerogative of the Crown was uſurped even after the Conqueſt by the *Barons:* For in the Civil Wars in King *Stephen*'s Time, about the Year 1149, and the 14th Year of that King's Reign, *Omnes Potentes, tam Epiſcopi quam Comites et Barones, ſuam faciebant Monetam*, i. e. *All the great Men of the Realm, as well the Biſhops as the Earls and Barons, coin'd their own Money*. But as ſoon as *Henry* the *Second* found himſelf peaceably and ſecurely fixed on the Throne, he put an End to this Uſurpation of the Baronage, *Novam fecit Monetam, quæ ſola recepta erat et accepta in Regno*, i. e. *He coin'd new Money, and ordain'd that it only ſhould paſs current within this Kingdom and received in Payment*. From which Time the Exerciſe as well as the Right of coining Money in this Kingdom has remained in the Crown without Interruption: For tho' the Crown by diverſe Charters, Grants and Privileges, yielded to ſeveral of the ancient Biſhopricks, Abbeys, *&c.* a Power to erect a Mint within their own Juriſdictions, and there to coin their own Money; as the Abbot of *St. Edmond's-Bury*, the Biſhop of *Durham*, Archbiſhop of *York*, *&c.*[h] they had neither the Denomination, Stamp nor Allay, but only the Profit of the Coinage: For whenever the King thought proper to change the Coin by his royal Proclamation, he at the ſame Time iſſued out a Mandate to the Treaſurer and Barons of the Exchequer to deliver a proper Stamp to thoſe private Mints, to be thenceforward uſed by them in Coining, during his royal Pleaſure. But this Liberty

f See *Camden*'s Rem. Title *Money*.

g See *Hales*, ib. P. 4, 5.

h See *Stow*'s Annals, p. 284.

of Coinage in private Mints, being attended with many Impoſitions, Loſſes and Hardſhips on the trading Part of the Nation, hath, according to my Lord Chief Juſtice *Hale*, been long ſince diſuſed, and in a great Meaſure, if not altogether, reaſſumed by the Statute of 3 *Henry* VII. cap. 6.

The Advantage of a current Coin is thus obſerved by the ingenious Mr. *Lock*;[i] *In coined Silver or Money*, ſays he, *there are three Things which are wanting in other Silver; as*, Firſt, *Pieces exactly of the ſame Weight and Fineneſs.* Secondly, *A Stamp ſet on the Pieces by the public Authority of the Country; and*, Thirdly, *A known Denomination given to theſe Pieces by the ſame Authority.* Beſides, coined Silver Money differs from uncoined Silver in this, *viz.* That the Quantity of Silver in each Piece of Money is aſcertain'd by the Stamp it bears; for the Stamp is a Mark, and, as it were, a public Voucher, that ſuch a Piece, of ſuch a Denomination, is of ſuch a real Weight and Fineneſs, or has ſo much pure Silver in it; which preciſe Weight and Fineneſs, by Law appropriated to the Piece of each Denomination, is called the *Standard*.

i See his Conſid. conc. the Raiſing the Value of Money, p. 5. & 22.

The Matter or Species whereof the current Coin of this Kingdom hath been made, has been conſtantly (at leaſt ſince the Days of King Henry I. and II.) Gold and Silver allay'd with Copper; tho', as Sir *Matthew Hale* [k] obſerves, in ancient Times, the Species, whereof the Coin was made, might poſſibly be pure Gold or Silver; and this Allay, ſays he, was that which gave the Denomination of *Sterling* to our Coin, *viz. Sterling* Gold and *Sterling* Silver, and is the Standard of Fineneſs for our Money here in *England:* and I think this natural Account of the Antiquity of the Word *Sterling* among us, tho' Antiquarians are ſo divided about it, [l] may ſerve to convince every reaſonable Enquirer, that this Term in our Coinage is to be carried as far backward as *Henry* I. or at leaſt to the Reign of *Henry* II. As to its Derivation, I refer you to the learned and ingenious Author, of *Nummi Britannici Hiſtoria*.[m]

k Ib. cap. I. p. 5.

l See *Nummi Britan. Hiſtoria*, printed *Anno* 1726, p. 3, 4.

m Pag. 2, 3, 4, 5.

Having

Having thus ſhewn to whom the Prerogative of Coinage belongs, I ſhall now proceed to ſhew, which of the *Roman* Emperors and *Britiſh* Princes in this Nation were the firſt that impreſſed or ſtamp'd their own Image on their Coins.

It is obſerved by ſome Authors, [n] that *Julius Cæſar* was the firſt that had his own Face ſtampt on the *Roman* Coins, and that *Conſtantine* the *Great*, Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, firſt engraved the Croſs upon his Coin; a Uſage that has been generally obſerved by all his Succeſſors, and other Chriſtian States. And it has been likewiſe obſerved, [o] that *Cunobeline*, Prince and Ruler of the *Trinobantes*, the greateſt and moſt potent State of the ancient *Britains*, for the greater Honour of his State, was the firſt of this Nation, that cauſed his own Image to be ſtampt on his Coin, after the Manner of the *Romans*, who had a little before done the ſame Thing in Honour to *Julius Cæſar*. Before this, the *Britains* are recorded to make all their Payments with Rings of Iron and Plates of Braſs, aſſized at a certain Weight; ſome of which *Speed* avoucheth that he himſelf had ſeen dug out of the Earth, and found in little Cruſes or Pitchers of Earth. [p] This Prince *Cunobeline* reſided at *Camalodunum*, now called *Malden*, in *Eſſex*, as appears by the Reverſe of his Coins, and was Son of *Theomantius*, Nephew to *Caſibelan*, Prince of the *Trinobantes*, and General of all the *Britains* in their Wars againſt *Cæſar*.

n See *Speed's* Chron. printed 1633, fol. 25. and *Leigh's Diatr.* of Money, p. 35.

o See *Speed's* Chron. p. 31, 32, 53. Edit. ead.

p See *Speed's* Chron. p. 31, 32, 48, 53. and *Stow's* Annals, p. 23.

After this, the other *Britains* beginning to traffick with diverſe Nations, by means of the *Romans*; they followed their Example in the civiliſed Method of ſtamping Silver and Gold Money with the Faces of their Princes, after the Example of *Cunobeline*. [q] Some of theſe Coins are ſtill extant in the Collections of the Curious, and are known to be *Britiſh* from their particular Forms, being commonly emboſſed outward, and Shield-like, on which the Inſcription or Face is ſeen, with a hollow Reverſe, within which is ſet their Device; a Form uſed by no other Nation, except among ſome of the *Grecians*.

q See *Speed*, ib. p. 25, 181. and *Nichol.* Engl. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 3.

Thus the Coins of this Iſland multiplied according to the Number of its independent Princes, till the *Romans*, having conquered the whole Realm, and extinguiſhed or (at leaſt) reduced the Kings thereof under their Power and Tribute, ſuppreſſed the *Britiſh* Coins alſo, ſupplying their Place with their own Coin, as a Proof of their Conqueſt and Subjection to the *Roman* Yoak. This Change may properly be dated from the Reign of the Emperor *Claudius*, from whoſe Time the *Roman* Coins only were current in *Britain*, for three hundred Years, at leaſt till the Reign of *Valentinian* the Younger; tho' Mr. *Camden* computes this Currency to have continued five hundred Years: [r] During which Time, tho' all the Money for this Part of the World, under the *Roman* Government, was for the moſt Part coin'd either at *Rome*, *Lyons*, or *Triers*, yet the Emperor *Conſtantine the Great* diſtinguiſhed *London* with the Honour of a Mint during his own Reign; and Mr. *Camden* aſſures us, that he had ſeen ſome Copper Coin of that Date with this Inſcription, *P. London. S.* viz. *Pecunia Londini Signata*; which is alſo confirmed by the Officer under the Emperor, ſtiled *Præpoſitus Theſaurorum Auguſtantium*, viz. *The Treaſurer of the Mint at* London; for, *London*, that now is, was called *Auguſta* in the Declining State of the Empire. Of which *Roman* Coins many have been and are ſtill found in the Ruins of ancient Towns and Caſtles, which were hid, as ſome probably conjecture, when *Maximus* carried ſo many *Britains* into *France* with him, or when the *Saxons* and other Northern Invaders over-ran this Iſland, and deſtroyed the ancient Habitations, as well as their Inhabitants.

r See his Rem. Title *Money*.

The *Romans* at laſt, not willing to maintain their *Britiſh* Conqueſt at ſo dear a Rate, as to be obliged to keep a continual Armament againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*, &c. who were always plundering their Borders, left the *Britains* at their own Liberty, and independent on the *Roman* State; but had ſo ſtored the Nation with their Coin, that, it is probable, it continued the only current Coin to the Year 561, or thereabouts; for none of our Antiquarians ever ſaw any Coin of the *Britiſh* Princes *Vortigern*, *Vortimer*, *Conſtantine*, *Aurelius Conanus*, *Vortiporus*,

Vortiporus, *Aurelius Ambroſius*, *Arthur*, and others, who lived in thoſe ancient Times. As for the *Britains* or *Welch*, whatſoever *Jura Majeſtatis* or Royal Prerogative their Princes had, they never had any Coin of their own, ſays *Camden*.[r] Therefore,

r See his Rem. Title *Money*. See alſo *Nicholſ.* Eng. Hiſt. Lib. 1. cap. 3.

Both he and *Speed* in his 7th Book affirm, that the moſt ancient *Engliſh* Coin upon Record is that of *Ethelbert*, the fifth King of *Kent*, as I ſaid above, about the Year of our Lord 561, Monarch of the *Anglo-Saxons*, and firſt *Chriſtian* King, except you will admit *Lucius* of our *Engliſh* Nation.

This is he that ſet an Example to his Succeſſors in the Monarchy; for after him ſeveral of the *Anglo-Saxon* Monarchs, *viz. Offa*, *Kenwolfe*, *Egbert*, *Elfred*, *Edward* the Elder, *Edmund*, *Edwin*, *Edgar*, *Edward* the Martyr, *Etheldred* and *Edmund* Ironſide had their Coins[s] with their proper Devices. And

s See *Speed's* Chron. book 7.

Now People firſt began to account their Money by *Pence*, *Shillings*, *Pounds*, and *Mancuſes*. The *Pence*, (which is properly derived from the *Latin* Word *pendo* to weigh, on Account of the exact Weight thereof) weighing about three Pence of our preſent Money, were rudely ſtampt with the Monarch or King's Image on one Side, and with the Mint Maſter's on the other, or elſe with the Name of the City where it was coined.

This Method continued after the Conqueſt for ſome Time, only with this Contrivance, of a Croſs ſo deeply impreſſed, that it might be eaſily broken and divided into two Halfs or four Quarters; each Half ſo broken received the Name of an *Halfpence* or *Half-penny*; and each Quarter ſo divided received the Name of a *Fourthing* or *Farthing*: From whence you have the proper Derivation of our preſent Half-penny and Farthing.

Five of theſe *Saxon* Pence made their *Scillinge* or *Shilling*, ſo called by them from the Roman *Scilingus*, or fourth Part of an Ounce. Eight and forty of theſe Scillinges made their Pound, which anſwered to our Pound *Troy*, or twelve Ounces.[t]

t See *Cam.* Rem. Title *Money*.

Their

Their *Mancus* contained thirty of thoſe Pence, and is by ſome ſuppoſed to be the ſame Denomination as a *Mark* or *Marca*; becauſe *Camden* obſerves, that he had found *Manca* and *Mancuſa* tranſlated *Marca* in an old Book. They are thought to have had both Gold and Silver Pieces of this Denomination of Money; for the *Kentiſh* Men are recorded to purchaſe their Peace of *Ina* King of the Weſt *Saxons* at the Price of 30,000 *Mancuſes* of Gold. But in the Notes upon the Laws of *Canutus*, we are to obſerve that *Mancuſa* ſignifies no more than a Mark of *Silver*, or a *little Mark*, whereas *Manca* was a Square Piece of Gold commonly valued at *thirty Pence*.

After the *Saxons* were overpowered by the *Danes*, the Conquerors introduced a new Reckoning [u] of Money by *Ores* or *Oras*, as may be ſeen in Dooms-day Book. As no ſuch Piece has been preſerved by Poſterity, it is uncertain whether this was a diſtinct Coin or a certain Sum; yet it is accounted that twenty *Oræ* made two Marks of Silver, according to the Abbey Book of *Burton*; and I can't help thinking that the Sound of *Denmark*, called *Ore* Sound, where Ships pay Toll (*viz.* ſuch a Number of *Oræ*) hath its Name from theſe *Oræ*.

[u] See *Cam.* Rem. Title *Money*.

As to the Gold Coin of this Nation, we find none older than the Reign of *Edward* III. Tho' we read of a certain Gold Coin called a *Bizantine* or *Bizant*, current here long before; ſo called from *Conſtantinople*, anciently called *Bizantium*, and not from being coined at *Beſanſon* in *Burgundy*, as ſome Frenchified Antiquarians have dreamt. The Value of this Coin is now quite forgotten, yet I can't but obſerve that the Name ſtill continues in the *Blazon* of Arms, where Plates of Gold are called *Bizants*. And thoſe great Medals or Pieces of Gold, which the King of *England* offereth upon High Feſtival Days, ſays our learned *Camden*, of the Value of about 15 Pounds, are ſtill called *Bizantines*.

To conclude this Chapter, the Pieces which King *Edward* III. firſt coined in Gold were called *Florens* or *Florences*, becauſe *Florentines* were the Coiners thereof.[x]

[x] See *Nummi Britan. Hiſt.* p. 22, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of Sterling *Money.*

AS to the antiquated Diſpute about the Derivation of the Term *Sterling*, which is an old Term or Epitheton of Money current and legally coined in this Nation,* I ſhall only refer you to the *Nummi Britannici Hiſtoria.* y

*See before, p. 6.

y Page 2, &c.

This Money has been always accounted of ſo pure an Allay, that it has at all Times been the moſt fixed and unalterable Standard of Money in all the known World, to the great Encouragement of Commerce, and Honour of our Nation: The Money Standard of other Nations having been found very uncertain and variable.

Nor do I pretend to fix the certain Time when this Name of *Sterling* Money was firſt uſed among us; this is equally as difficult as to clear the Uncertainty of its Derivation: Yet it is certain, that this Name was in Uſe in the Reign of *Henry* III. and King *Edward* I. but it can't be ſuppoſed to be as old as the Conqueſt, becauſe, as my Lord *Hale* remarks, it is not to be found in Doomsday Book, where there is ſo great an Occaſion of mentioning Rents, Payments, *&c.*

This Epithet *Sterling* was in ancient Times added to Money, to denote as much as what we now call *bona et legalis Moneta Angliæ*, or, *good and lawful Money of England*, whether in Gold or Silver; to which ſix Things muſt concur to make it current and lawful Money: Firſt, Weight, ſecondly, *Fineneſs*; thirdly, Impreſſion; fourthly, Name; fifthly, the Authority of the Prince; and ſixthly, Proclamation. For every Piece ought to have a certain Proportion of Weight or Poize, and a certain Proportion of Purity or Fineneſs, which is called Allay or Alloy; and every Piece does as neceſſarily require a certain Form of Impreſſion which ſhall be known to all Men: For as Wax is not a Seal without an Impreſſion of ſome Sort upon it, neither is a Piece of Metal, Money, without

out a proper Denominative Stamp or Impreſſion; and alſo every Piece of Money muſt have or take its Name from its Value, or from what it is ordained by the Prince to paſs in Payment for, ſuch as a *Penny*, a *Groat*, a *Six-pence*, *Shilling*, *Half-Crown*, *Crown*, *Half-Guinea*, *Guinea*, &c. And all this ought to be done and fixed, by the Authority and Commandment of the Prince, for otherwiſe the Money is not lawful; neither is it then current, till publiſhed by the Proclamation of the Prince.

All theſe Circumſtances are as ancient as Money itſelf in all civiliſed and well governed States, and do appear in the ancient Orders made by the Kings of *England* for the Coinage of Moneys, which are repoſited in the Tower of *London* for this Realm of *England*, and in the Caſtle of *Dublin* for the Kingdom of *Ireland:* As alſo in the Indentures between the King and Miniſters or Officers of the Mint for the Time being; for they always contain the Proportion of Weight, Fineneſs and Allay, with the Impreſſion, Inſcription, Name and Value of the Moneys to be coined.

As the Coinage of Money is a Flower and Prerogative of the Crown of great Antiquity; ſo the counterfeiting, clipping, fileing and defacing the Coin of this Realm, has been of a long ſtanding and continued Practice. In the 27 *Henry* II. which is above five hundred and ſixty Years ago, the Money was ſo abuſed and corrupted, that he found it neceſſary to call it in, to be changed for new Money then to be coined. — About 25 Years after, *viz. Anno* 1205, King *John* obſerving that the Abuſe of Money was either in a great Part continued or revived, called it in again, and cauſed it to be new coined; and thereby brought it to a greater Purity or Fineneſs than it had been before in any of his Predeceſſors Reigns: On which Account, ſome Authors fix upon him as the Inventer or firſt Ordainer of Sterling Money. About 42 Years after this Coinage by King *John*, King *Henry* III. *Anno* 1247, finding the current Coin ſo clipped and abuſed, called it in by Proclamation;[y] in which among other Things, ſays my Author, is this laconick Reflection upon the *Jews*, *Circumcidebatur*

[y] See *Mat. Par.* Hiſt. mag. fol. 639, ſect. 10. & 648, ſect. 50, 60.

cidebatur à circumciſis Judæis, becauſe the Money was clipped or *circumciſed by the circumciſed Jews*; or *Italian* Uſurers, then called *Corſini*, (who were the firſt *Chriſtians* that brought in Uſury among us[z]) and the *Flemings*. — Again about the Year 1278, and the ſeventh Year of *Edward* the *firſt*, the ſaid Prince called in the Money, and eſtabliſhed a certain Standard for *Engliſh* Coin, appointing and ordaining a Sterling Penny to weigh the 20th Part of an Ounce; and cauſed two hundred and eighty *Jews* to be hanged for clipping his Coin.[a] And about twenty one Years after this, in the Year 1299, the ſaid King commanded that the *Crocards* and *Pollards*, (two of which made one Sterling Penny) the *Roſaries*, *Staldings*, *Eagles*, *Leonines*, *Mitres* and *Steepings*, being white Moneys, artificially made of Silver, Copper and Sulphur, ſhould be cried down and prohibited; and inſtead thereof were coined other new Moneys and *Half-Pence* of *Silver*;[b] which Ordinance was alſo tranſmitted and ſent over into *Ireland*, and enrolled in the Red Book of the Exchequer there.[c] — The ſame good Example of watching and rectifying the corrupted Coin of his Realm was, about thirty-ſeven Years after, followed by King *Edward* III. in the ninth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1334, who not only called in the baſe Money, but coined new Forms or Pieces, by the Name of *Groats*, of four Pence Value, and *Half-Groats*, of no more than two Pence, equivalent to the *Sterling* Money,[d] at the ſame Time forbidding the Utterance of *black* Money made of Copper, as *Mail* and *Black Mail*,[e] upon Pain of the Forfeiture thereof.

z See Bp. *Fleetwood*'s Sermon againſt clipping, fol. 17, 18.

a *Walſingham* Hypod. Neuſtr. p. 69.

b See *Baker*'s Chron. fol. 101.

c See *Davis*'s Rep. fol. 20. *Hales*'s Treatiſe conc. Sher. cap. I. p. 20. and Lib. Rub. Scac. pars 2. fol. 2, 6.

d See *Baker*'s Chron. fol. 128.

e *Camd.* Rem. Title *Money*.

In the Year 1409, and 2 *Hen.* IV. the Parliament prohibited the Uſe of *Gally-half-pence*, a Sort of Money imported by the *Gallies* of *Genoa*, which Republick at that Time carried on a great Trade with *England*, and by that Means introduced their baſe Money among their Cuſtomers; and the King in 1411 ordered new Money to be coined.[f]

f Idem, ib.

In the next Reign, 3 *Henry* V. and *A. D.* 1414, the baſe Money called *Suſkins* and *Doitkins* underwent the ſame Fate with the *Gally-half-pence* by the ſame Authority:[g] And here Mr. *Blount*[h] obſerves,

g See *Coke*'s 3 Inſt. fol. 92.

h In his *Nomolexicon*, verb. *Gally-half-pence*, and *Doitkin*.

ſerves, that it is from this prohibited baſe Coin of ſmall Value, a *Doitkin*, that we ſtill retain the Phraſe, *not worth a Doitkin*, when we would energetically expreſs the Meanneſs or little Value of any Thing.

This ſame King, after his Victory at *Agincourt*, and Peace with *France*, ordered a ſilver Coin to be ſtruck with this Stile or Inſcription, *Rex Angliæ, Regens et Hæres Franciæ*, i. e. *King of England, Regent and Heir of France*. A Gold Coin called a *Salus* or *Salute* of the Allay of Sterling, Value twenty-two Shillings, with the Angel ſaluting the Virgin *Mary* on one Side, the one holding the Arms of *England*, and the other the Arms of *France*, with the King's Titles; and *Chriſtus vincit, Chriſtus ſignat, Chriſtus imperat*, on the Reverſe. But in the next Reign, or 2 *Henry* VI. this Silver Coin, which was called a *Blanch*, or white Money, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Salus*, or yellow Money, coined at the ſame Time in *France*, being found not to be of the Allay of Sterling, was alſo prohibited[i] by Order of the Parliament in 1423.

[i] See *Blount's* Nomolexicon in ver. *Blanks*. *Stow's* Annals fol. 586. *Camd.* Rem. Title *Money*.

After this we find that baſe Money, which from Time to Time found a Circulation thro' the Corruption of the Times, and other Accidents, was called in about the Year 1464, or in the 5 *Edward* IV. *Anno* 1503, in the 19 *Henry* VII. *Anno* 1544, in the 36 *Henry* VIII. *Anno* 1550, or the 5 *Edward* VI. But never effectually till Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Year of our Lord 1559, and the ſecond of glorious Reign, who cried down and prohibited all mixed and baſe Money, and eſtabliſhed a new Standard of pure Sterling, which continues to this Day. Yet,

All this could not prevent the Iniquity of After-Times: For during the unnatural Civil Wars and Rebellion againſt King *Charles* I. the *Engliſh* Coin ſuffered ſo much by clipping, filing and ſniping, that the Keepers of the Liberties of *England* (as the Murderers of the ſaid King choſe to call themſelves, by Authority of their pretended Parliament) were obliged to call it in; and ordained that all the new Money, thence forward to be coined, ſhould, inſtead of the King's Effigies and Impreſſion,

Impreſſion, and his Title, Arms and Superſcription, have on one Side thereof a St. *George*'s Croſs ſtamped with theſe Words circumſcribed, *The Common-wealth of England*, and on the other Side of the Coin, *the Croſs* and *Harp*, with this Motto, *God with us:* And this remained a current Coin till the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. tho' *Oliver* was no ſooner fixed in his Protectorſhip, than he endeavoured to ennoble and perpetuate his Name by a ſilver Coin, with his Head laureat a-la-Romaine, *Olivar. D. G. A P. Ang. Scot. Hib.* &c. *Prot.* on the Reverſe, a Shield with the Imperial Crown of *England*, St. *George*'s Croſs in the firſt and fourth Quarters, St. *Andrew*'s in the ſecond, the *Iriſh* Harp in the third, and his Paternal Arms, *viz.* a Lion Rampant in an Eſcutcheon of Pretence, Legend. *Pax quæritur Bello*, 1658. And his Crown Piece was circumſcribed on the Rim with theſe Words, *Has niſi periturus mihi adimat nemo.*

King *Charles* II. being reſtored, immediately prohibited the Currency of the late rebellious Coin, and ordered a new Coinage, which Money had the King's Buſt on the one Side, with his Title and his Arms and Motto on the other Side. But this new Coin being only performed after the old Faſhion by Stamps and Hammers, was ſtill liable to the pernicious Practice of clipping, filing, *&c.* in ſo much that before three Years were ended, this new Money was ſo diminiſhed in its Value, that in 572 Bags of one hundred Pounds each, which ought to have weighed in all 221,418 *oz.* 16 *dwts.* 8 *gr. Troy*, yielded no more than 113,771 *oz.* 5 *dwt. Troy*; ſo that in theſe 572 Bags there was a Deficiency of 107,647 *oz.* 11 *dwt.* 8 *gr. Troy*, occaſioned by the Money being clipped; and conſequently the Money being reduced to leſs than one half of its intrinſick Value.[k] In the Year 1663, it was found neceſſary, for remedying this Loſs to the Nation, to call in all the light and bad Money, and to ſupply it with a new milled Coin,[l] which Money was firſt fabricated on the twenty-fourth Day of *December* 1663: And from hence we may date the Beauty of our *Engliſh* Coin; tho' the deſperate Fortunes of ſome, and the evil Inclinations of others, have ſtill found Means to counterfeit, and clip, *&c.* the current Money.

[k] See *Lowndes*'s Eſſay.

[l] See *Nummi Britan. Hiſtor.* p. 112, *&c.*

King

King *William* III. perceiving this growing Miſchief, called in all the bad Money, and took ſuch Meaſures with his Parliament as wholly to deſtroy and extirpate this wicked Practice; as we at this Day, being 48 Years after, do joyfully experience.

CHAP. III.

Of the Coins ſince the Reign of William *the* Conqueror *to this Time.*

THE Word *Coin* has been much tortured in the Way of Grammatical Criticks for an Etymology: But, to omit the many conjectural Derivations thereof, I am inclined to adhere to the Opinion of Sir *Edward Cooke*,[m] who ſays that the Word *Coin* is derived from χοινὸς, id eſt *communis*, quod ſit *omnibus rebus communis*; becauſe it is *commonly* made uſe of in all Affairs; for as Money is the Sinews and Strength of a State, ſo it is the Life and Soul of Commerce; the Mean for all Commodities, and anſwereth all Things. Thus when the Value of any Thing is expreſſed, it is ſaid to be worth ſo many Pence, Shillings or Pounds; ſo that Money is a Change or Pawn for the Value of all other Things, and therefore Coin is properly derived from χοινὸς.

m See *Cooke* on *Litt.* fol. 207. b.

The Workers of Coin are called *Moneyers*,[n] as I apprehend, from the Latin *Monetarii*; and is the common Name of all the Officers of the Mint, which make, coin and deliver out the King's Money. And, as Mr. *Lock* obſerves, there were paid ſixteen Pence halfpenny for coining a Pound Weight of Silver, or five Pence halfpenny for every twenty Shillings, till the Year 1696, when it was enacted that the Charge of making new Money of Silver proceeding from clipt Monies ſhould not exceed fourteen Pence upon every Pound Weight Troy, or four Pence and the third Part of two Pence, for every twenty Shillings over and above the Charges of melting and refining the ſame. And here, as a Bill of the Mint-Maſter's Accounts ſhews not only the Charge, but the diſtinct Charge of every Part in the Coinage, I preſume, it will be admitted as a Piece of Curioſity to inſert the following Account. *Viz.*

n See *Regiſter*, fol. 262.

The

The Account of Sir *Robert Harley*, Knight of the *Bath*, Maſter and Worker of his Majeſty's Monies within the Mint in the Tower of *London*, from the laſt Day of *March* 1648, to the 15th of *May* 1649 included, being one whole Year, one Month, and fifteen Days, as follows.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Inprimis, The ſaid Accomptant chargeth himſelf with Arrearages due upon the Foot of his Account ending the laſt of *March* 1648, as by the ſaid Account appeareth, the Sum of	01	13	02
Item, For Monies received for the Workmanſhip of 5 *cwt.* 3 *lb.* 2 *oz.* 12 *dwt.* 12 *gr.* of Crown Gold Monies, at 6 *s.* 5 *d. per lb.* the Sum of	161	09	00
Item, For the Workmanſhip of 10 *cwt.* 53 *lb.* 11 *oz.* 10 *dwt.* of Silver Monies, at 14 *d. per lb.* the Sum of	61	09	07½
Sum total of the Charge is	£224	11	09½

Whereof

Paid to the Moneyers for making the ſaid Crown Gold Monies, at 2 *s.* 5 *d. per lb.*	60	16	01			
Item, Paid to them for making of the ſaid Siver Monies at 8 *d. per lb.*	35	02	07½	95	18	08½
Item, paid to Sir *John Wolloſton* for melting of 5 *cwt.* 3 *qr.* 19 *lb.* 23 *gr.* of Crown Gold Bullion Scizel and Allay, at 6 *d. per lb.*	14	19	06			
Item, Paid to him for melting of 11 *cwt.* 11 *lb.* 10 *oz.* 11 *dwt.* 12 *gr.* of Silver Bullion Scizel and Allay, at 2 *d. per lb.*	10	01	10			
Item, Paid to him for 26 *lb.* 8 *oz.* 6 *dwt.* 13 *gr.* of Copper Allay, at 16 *d. per lb.*	01	15	06			
Item, Paid to him for 12 *oz.* of fine Silver to make Gold Aſſays with, at 5 *s.* 9 *d. per oz.*	03	09	00			
Item, Paid to him for 10 *lb.* 1 *oz.* of Aquafortis, uſed alſo for Aſſays, at 6 *s. per lb.*	03	00	06			
Item, Paid to him for Gold-melting Pots for the whole Time aboveſaid	00	10	00	33	16	04

				l.	*s.*	*d.*
			bro. over	129	15	00½
Item, Paid to *Richard Lincoln* Purveyor, for diverſe Neceſſaries, by him bought and provided for and towards the melting and making of the Monies, *per* Bill —	21	01	06			
Item, Paid to him half a Year's Fee, after 20 *lb. per Ann.* as by his Receipt thereof	08	00	00			
Item, Paid for the Moiety of the Officers Diets for *Octob.* 1647	07	14	09			
Item, Paid to *Richard Sermon*, Collier, for Charcoal for the Melters, Monyers, Aſſayers, *&c.* —	16	13	08			
Item, Paid to *Edward Lote* for Sea Coals and Billets for the Moneyers, as *per* Bill	11	09	00			
Item, Paid to *Thomas Hodgſkins*, Smith, for coining Irons, *&c. per* Bill	10	01	06			
Item, Paid for Loſs ariſing by breaking of the Monies for Trial of the Monies, *per* Bill —	03	05	07			
Item, Paid to *John Reynolds*, *James Hoare*, and *Thomas Burghe*, Clerks, for half a Year to each —	30	00	00			
				108	06	00
Sum total of the Diſburſements is				238	01	00½
And ſo this Accomptant hath paid more than received, by				13	09	03

Before the *Norman* Conqueſt the Kings of this Nation ordained and ſet apart certain Monaſteries for Mints, as the only Places for coining Money; preſuming, that in ſuch Places no Deceit or Corruption would be found. But this Uſage ſoon paſſed away with our new Maſters; for as early as the Reign of *Edward* I. we read[a] of a Mint with thirty Furnaces in the Tower of *London*; another with eight Furnaces at *Canterbury*; another with four Furnaces at *Kingſton* upon *Hull*; another with two Furnaces at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*; another with four Furnaces at *Briſtol*; and another with two Furnaces at *Exeter*; all which is confirmed by the Inſcription of diverſe ancient Coins,

[a] See the cloſe Roll, 29 *Ed.* I.

Coins, which bear the Name of the Cities, &c. where they were coin'd.

Thus the State of the Mint continued ſome times in one Place, and ſometimes at another Place, according to the Pleaſure or Will of the Prince, who ſometimes was engaged by a Sum of Money to grant the Privilege of coining to ſome Biſhop, Nobleman, or Corporation; till the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, who, in the Beginning of her Reign, began to remedy the Inconveniences that attended ſuch promiſcuous Coinage of the current Money, by reducing all the Mints to the Tower of *London*; ſince which Time, Money has not been coined in *England*, any where elſe, except in the confuſed Times of the Civil Wars, in King *Charles* I.'s Reign, when the King, being driven from his Capital, was obliged to erect new Mints at *York*, *Oxford*, and *Newark* upon *Trent*, the Places where he occaſionally reſided, when reduced to a Neceſſity of coining Money to ſupply his preſent Wants; and again, in the Year 1696, when King *William* III. having, for the Good of the Nation, called in the bad Money, erected Mints at *York*, *Exeter*, *Briſtol*, and *Wincheſter*; beſides that in the Tower of *London*, to facilitate the Exchange of the ſaid Monies new coined to his Subjects.

The ſame Power that has at all Times fixed and ſettled the Places for coining in this Nation, as it thought fit and convenient, has, at ſeveral times, altered and raiſed the Price and Value of the Coins. Thus we read, that *Oſbright*, a *Saxon* King, 200 Years before the Conqueſt by the *Normans*, ordained that an Ounce *Troy* of *Silver* ſhould be divided into twenty Pieces or Pence; ſo that an Ounce Troy of Silver was then of no more Value, than twenty Pence or five Groats.[a]

After the Conqueſt, and not before the Days of King *Henry* III. it was enacted, that an *Engliſh Penny*, called then a *Sterling*, round, and without any clipping, ſhould weigh 32 Wheat Corns in the midſt of the Ear; and that 20 of theſe Sterlings or Pence ſhould make an *Ounce*.[b]

a See Sir *John Davys*'s Reports, fol. 23, b. and Sir *Matt. Hales*'s Treatiſe of Sher. Accounts, p. 9.

b See Statute *de Aſſiſa Panis et Cerevisiæ*, ſect. 3. *Anno* 51 *Hen.* III. and *Keb.* Stat. fol. 10.

This was re-enacted in the 51ſt of *Edward* I. with this Addition, that twelve ſuch Ounces ſhould make a Pound,[c] which was alſo agreed on, by the Statute of 12 *Henry* VII. concerning *Weights* and *Meaſures:* So that a Pound Troy at that Time contained 240 Pence.[d]

c See the Ordinance for Meaſures *eodem Anno*, as alſo *Keble* fol. 68. and *Dawys*'s ut ſupra.

d See *Poulton*'s Pen. Stat. Title *Weights and Meaſures*, ſect. 2. 12 *Hen.* VII. c. 5. *Keble* fol. 329, n. 4.

This, without Doubt, was a commendable Regulation; but it was ſoon found to be far from adjuſting the true Value of the Metal, becauſe theſe Grains or Corns of Wheat ſometimes weighed more, ſometimes leſs, according to their Growth and Fulneſs; and were alſo ſubject to the Influence of hot and moiſt Air; they were therefore reduced to *Artificial Grains*, cut out of thin Braſs, marked with 1, 2, 3, 4, *&c.* according to their Weight, or Number of Grains each of thoſe thin Plates or Pieces of Braſs did weigh according to the King's Standard;[e] and then it was alſo ordained, that 24 of theſe Braſs Grains ſhould go to one Penny-weight. Where let me obſerve, That as theſe *Braſs Grains* had, and ſtill retain, the Name of *Grains*, from the *Grains of Wheat*, formerly uſed in Weight; ſo the *Penny-weight*, or the *twentieth* Part of an *Ounce Troy*, ſtill retains and keeps its old Name; tho' the Value of every *ſuch* Penny-weight *now* is *three Pence*, which *then* was but a *Penny*. But,

e See *Hales*'s Treatiſe of Sher. Accounts, c. 2. p. 15, 16, 17, 18.

King *Edward* III. obſerving that foreign Nations raiſed the Value of their Coins, ordained that the Ounce of Silver ſhould be raiſed alſo in *England* to 26 Pence; ſo that a Pound Weight contained 312 Pence.[f] And for the ſame Reaſon King *Henry* VI. raiſed it to 30 Pence; making a Pound to contain 360 Pence; each Penny being then worth *three Half-Pence*. King *Edward* IV. in the 5th Year of his Reign advanced it to forty Pence, or ten Groats the Ounce; which brought every Penny-weight to two Pence, and the Pound Weight to 480 of theſe Pence.[g]

f In 9 *Edw.* III.

g See Sir *Matt. Hales*, as above, and *Dawys*'s Reports fol. 24, b. *Heyling*'s Eccl. Reſtaur. p. 135. *Leigh*'s *Diatrib.* of Money, p. 59, 60. *Vaughan* about Coinage.

But when King *Henry* VIII. prepared for his Expedition to *Bulloyne*, he brought the Ounce of Silver to five and forty Pence, or, according to Sir *Richard Baker*, to four Shillings in Value or Currency; ſo that the old Penny-weight was now worth

worth two Pence Farthing, and the Pound contained 540 of theſe Pence. His Neceſſities drove him alſo to coin baſe Money, mixed with Braſs; which continued current till the 5th *Edward* VI. when it was juſtly cried down.[g] This Debaſement of the Sterling Money was the Reaſon, why a Shilling after King *Henry*'s Death went but for Nine-Pence, and before they were cried down, only for Six-Pence; and the Groats in Proportion for three Pence and two Pence.

g See *Baker*'s Chron. fol. 295 & 312.

When Queen *Mary* found the Nation in this Diſtreſs for Coin, ſhe ordered the Groat, half Groat, and Penny, to be coined of Silver and Currency, as before her Father's Debaſement thereof. Yet the Perfection of this good Work was not till Queen *Elizabeth*, ſucceeding her Siſter on the Throne, embaſed, and called in all Copper and baſe Money, in the ſecond Year of her Reign by Proclamation.[h] And her Intention being to deliver her Subjects from the Inconvenience and Damage, which they had laboured under for above 200 Years, by the bad Money of this Nation, ſhe reſolved to refine the Coin not according to the *legal*, but *natural* Eſtimation of the Metal; and therefore ordered all the baſe Money to be marked, ſome with a *Greyhound*, others with a *Portcullis*, and other ſome with a *Lion*, *Harp*, *Roſe*, or *Flower de Lys*. Then with all convenient Speed, ſhe having received all this Money ſo marked into her Majeſty's Mint, repaid the Owners thereof ſo much pure Sterling Silver, as the baſe Money was intrinſically worth in Silver, and no more; which memorable Action was more than King *Edward* VI. or Queen *Mary* durſt attempt.* This Queen's next Care was to regulate the *Iriſh* Coin; and ſhe then raiſed the Ounce of Silver to *ſixty Pence* or *five Shillings*, which brought every *Penny-weight* to the old Standard of

h See *Camden*'s Remains, Title *Money*. *Speed*'s Chron. lib. 9. c. 24. *Stow*'s Annals 5 Edit. p. 1094.

* Queen *Elizabeth* alſo cauſed all the foreign Coin, within her Realm of *England*, to be brought to the Mint, and new coined. On which Occaſion there was paid, 8,000, 10,000, 12,000, 16,000, 22,000 Pound of Silver Plate, and as much more in Piſtoles and other Spaniſh Gold, weekly, for the Space of half a Year. See *Stow*'s Annals, p. 1096, and *Camden*, as before.

three Pence in Value, and thus it continues to this Day, to our Benefit, and a Memorial of that great Princeſs's Wiſdom.

Now from the Premiſes it is eaſy to collect, that the ancient current Silver Coin was the *Penny*, ſo called from the *Saxon* Word *Penyg* or *Pennyg*,[l] and in *Latin*, as well as in Actions at Law, *Denarius*;[k] a Word ſtill in Uſe among the *French* and *Italians*, who call all Money *Deniers*, or *Danari*. So the Penny Sterling was the Meaſurement of all other our *Engliſh* Silver Coins; thus the *Groat* contained four Pennies Sterling, and the *Half-Groat*, two Pennies Sterling; the *Shilling*, twelve Pennies Sterling; the *Half-Penny*, half a Sterling Penny; and the *Farthing*, the fourth Part of a Sterling Penny.

[l] See *Coke* on *Littleton*, fol. 294, b.
[k] See *Davys's* Reports, fol. 24.

And now to conclude the whole, obſerve, That our Accounts of Money have always been kept in *Pounds*, *Shillings*, *Pence*, and *Farthings*; and though the *Weight* of theſe have been frequently altered, and the *Fineneſs* ſometimes debaſed, yet they have always borne the ſame Proportion one to the other, as they do at this Time. There never was any ſuch Piece coined as a *Pound*; but it was ſo called as containing *twenty Shillings*, or 240 Penny-weights, or 12 Ounces Troy Weight. Nor was there ſuch a Coin as a *Shilling*, till the 19 *Henry* VII. All which will better appear from the following Tables, Catalogues, and Faces of ſuch Coins, as we have been able to find.

A TABLE

A Table expreſſing the true *Values* and *Weights* of the *Silver Coin*, according to the Account of the Mint in the *Tower* of London.

	s.	*d.*	*dwt.*	*grs.*	*Mates*	*Droits*	*Perits*	*Blanks*
Pieces of	5	0	19	8	10	8	—	—
	2	6	9	16	5	4	—	—
	1	0	3	20	18	1	10	—
	—	6	1	22	9	—	15	—
	—	2	—	15	9	16	5	—
	—	1	—	7	14	20	2	12
	—	½	—	3	17	10	1	6

Note, This Table is ſet forth in an Ordinance of Parliament, paſſed 17 *July*, 1649.

A Table ſhewing, at one View, the ſeveral Alterations before mentioned, which have been made from Time to Time, in the *Weight* and *Fineneſs* of our *Silver Coins*.

Years	*Money by Tale in a lb. wt. Troy*		*Fine Silver in a Pound Weight*		*Allay in a Pound Weight*	
From the Conqueſt to the Reign of *Edward* III.	*s.*	*d.*	*oz.*	*dwt.*	*oz.*	*dwt.*
20 *Edward* III.	20	—	11	2	—	18
27	22	6	11	2	—	18
9 *Henry* V.	25	—	11	2	—	18
1 *Henry* VI.	30	—	11	2	—	18
4	37	6	11	2	—	18
39	30	—	11	2	—	18
1 *Henry* VIII.	37	6	11	2	—	18
34	45	—	11	2	—	18
36	48	—	10	—	2	—
37	48	—	6	—	6	—
3 *Edward* VI.	48	—	4	—	8	—
5	72	—	6	—	6	—
6	72	—	3	—	9	—
1 *Mary* I.	60	—	11	1	—	19
2 *Elizabeth*	60	—	11	—	1	—
43	60	—	11	2	—	18
	62	—	11	8	—	18

A

TABLE

OF THE

SILVER COINS

OF THE

Kings of *England*,

Which have been *Current* in the Kingdom of *England*; from the *Conqueſt* to the Reign of King *George* I.

FROM the Conqueſt it does not appear that the *Silver Coins* had any other Name or Value, than a *Penny* or *Sterling*, till 25 *Edward* III. who coined

Edward III.	Pennies
	Groſſes* or Groats
	Half Groats
Richard II.	Groats
	Half Groats
	Sterlings
	Half Sterlings
Henry IV.	The ſame. In this Reign it was enacted, That a third Part of the Bullion ſhould be coined in *Half-Pence* and *Farthings*
Henry V.	The ſame. After the Battle of *Agincourt* he coined *Blanks*, or white Pieces, rated *eight Pence*, or two Groats
Henry VI.	The ſame. He was the firſt that coined Braſs Money in *Ireland*.

* So called becauſe they were the *greateſt* or *groſſeſt* Money *then* in Uſe.

Edward

Edward IV. Groats
Three Pences, in the 18th Year of his Reign
Two Pences
Pennies

Edward V. Groats
Pennies

Richard III. Groats. *N. B.* This King's is the moſt rare of all other Coins

Henry VII. To the former Coins added the *Shilling*, which weighed one third more than ours at this Time. [*Anno* 20.]

Henry VIII. Crown Pieces, one of which is now preſerved by the Earl of *Pembroke*
Teſtoons or Shillings
Groats
Half Groats
Sterlings
Half Pence
Farthings

Edward VI. Crowns
Half Crowns
Teſtoons or Shillings
Six Pences
Groats
Three Pences

Q. *Mary* I. Shillings
Six Pences
Groats

Q. *Elizabeth* Crowns
Half Crowns
Shillings
Six Pences
Groats
Three Pences
Two Pences
Pennies

James I. Crowns
Half Crowns
Shillings
Six Pences
Two Pences
Pence
Half Pence

Charles

Charles I. The ſame. And after his Troubles began, he coined Groats, Three Pences, and other various Kinds of Money, which the Diſtraction of the Times and his urgent Neceſſities invented. *N. B.* This King's Coin appears with the moſt Variety.

After the 30th of *January*, 1648, the Parliament agreed upon a new Sort of Coin, by the Name of *Crowns*, *Half-Crowns*, *Shillings*, and *Six-Pences*, with this Inſcription, *The Common-wealth of England*; on the Reverſe, *God with us*. *Two Pences*, *Pennies*, *Half-Pennies*, with no Inſcription, only the initial Figures. Their Sixpence in 1651, was the firſt milled Money in *England*. *Oliver*, uſurping the Government, coined the firſt *Engliſh* Crown Piece milled, with an Inſcription on the Rim, inſcribed *Olivar*, *D. G. Ang. Scot. Hib.* &c. *PRO.* on the Reverſe, *Pax Quæritur Bello*: a half Crown and a Shilling alſo milled

Charles II. Crowns, Half Crowns, Shillings, Six Pences, Groats, Three Pences, Two Pences, Pennies. *N. B.* In this Reign private Perſons were indulged with a Liberty they had obtained in 1653 of coining their own Pennies, Half-Pence, and Farthings, till *An.* 1672, when the King's Copper Half Pence and Farthings took Place.

James II. The ſame. *N. B.* He coined Tin Farthings and Half Pence.

William III. and *Mary* II. The ſame. He found the Coin ſo diminiſhed, that Half a Crown would ſcarce weigh a Shilling, and ſo effectually cured and removed that Abuſe, that we have enjoyed good Coin ever ſince.

Q. *Anne* The ſame

A

TABLE

OF THE

GOLD COINS.

OF THE

Kings of *England.*

Edward III. Noble
Half Noble
Quarter Noble. *N. B.* His Son Prince *Edward* coined Gold in *Aquitaine*
Richard II. The ſame
Henry IV. The ſame
Henry V. Noble
Half Noble
Quarter Noble
Salute [coined in *France*]
Henry IV. Noble
Half Noble
Quarter Noble
Salute
Half Salute. Theſe two laſt were coined in *France*
Edward IV. Spurr Royal
Half Spurr Royal
Angel. This firſt coined *Anno* 1465
Half Angel
Richard III. Spurr Royal
Angel
Half Angel
Henry VII. Quadruple Roſe Noble
Double Roſe Noble
Spur Royal
Angel
Half Angel

Henry

Henry VIII. Double Roſe Noble
Spurr Royal
Sovereign, *(viz.) on his Throne*
Half Sovereign
George Noble
Angel
Half Angel
Quarter Angel
Crown with the Roſe, *H. R.*
Half Crown with the Roſe, *H. R.*
Crowns with *H.I. H.K.* and *H.A.* on the Reverſe

Edward VI. Double Roſe Noble
Spurr Royal
Sovereign
Half Sovereign
Angel
Half Angel
Broad Piece with his Demi Effigies in Armour
Half Broad Piece, ditto
Ten Shilling Piece with the Crown on his Head
Half 10*s.* or Crown Piece, ditto
Quarter or Half Crown, ditto
Ten Shilling Piece, exhibiting him bare-headed
Half 10*s.* or Crown, ditto
Quarter or Half Crown, ditto
Ten Shilling Piece, bare-headed, with the Roſe inſtead of the King's Arms on the Reverſe.

Q. *Mary* I. Double Roſe Noble, 1553
Spurr Royal, 1553
Angel
Half Angel

Philip and *Mary* I. Angel, Half Angel
Crown, with *Mundi ſalus unica*

Q. *Elizabeth* Double Roſe Noble
Spurr Royal
Broad Piece
Half Broad Piece
Quarter Broad Piece
Half Quarter Broad Piece

Q. *Elizabeth*

Q. *Elizabeth* Half Broad Piece and Quarter neatly wrought and milled. [Thoſe grained or indented on the Edges are rare.]
Angel
Half Angel
Quarter Angel

James I. Double Roſe Noble
Spurr Royal
Sovereign or 30*s.* Piece
Half Sovereign or 15*s.* Piece
Scepter and Globe Piece, or 28*s.* with *Rex Angliæ & Scotiæ*
Half of the ſame
Scepter and Globe, or 25*s.* Piece
Half Scepter, or 12*s.* 6*d.* Piece
Quarter of the ſame
Half Quarter of the ſame
Broad or 20*s.* Piece, Head Laureated
Half or 10*s.* Piece, Head Laureated
Quarter of the ſame, or 5*s.* Piece
Angel
Half Angel
Crown, called the Thiſtle Crown

Charles I. Spurr Royal
Broad, or 20*s.* Piece
Half or 10*s.* Piece
Quarter or 5*s.* Piece. Of theſe there are three particular Sorts, *viz.* with the Ruff plain, and ſmart Ruff with the Garter Robes, and Broad band, of 20*s.* 10*s.* and 5*s.*
Angel. In his Troubles he coined 3*l.* or 3 Broads with the Sword and Laurel Branch; and alſo 20*s.* or ſingle Broads and Half Broads, or 10*s.* Pieces of the ſame. In *Scotland* he coined a Broad Piece with the Scepter and Globe of 25*s.*

Commonwealth Broad or 20*s.* Pieces
Half
Quarter

Oliver Twenty Shilling Piece milled, excellently done by *Symonds*, 1656.

Charles II.

Charles II.	Broad or 20*s*. Piece with the ſmall Crown. The Mint Mark
	Ten Shilling
	Five Shilling Piece, ditto
	Broad Piece milled of 20*s*. by *Symonds*, *An*. 1662
	Half and
	Quarter of the ſame. He was the firſt that coined 5 Pound or 5 Guinea Pieces, Double or 2 Guineas
	Guineas, and Half Guineas milled
James II.	Five Guineas
	Double Guines
	Guineas
	Half Guineas
William III. and *Mary* II.	The ſame
Q. *Anne*	The ſame

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